# Sociology and Social
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# FACTORS OF ALTRUISM AND EGOISM*

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*Intelligence as a factor of altruism or egoism.* Since somatic factors seem to be unimportant in making human beings altruistic or egoistic, the attention of investigators has naturally shifted to intelligence as a possible major factor. A large number of statistical, experimental, observational, clinical, and historical studies have been made to find out the relationship between intelligence and varieties of altruistic and selfish conduct. In some of these studies the samples of human material were very large, embracing thousands of individuals. The persons studied have included babies, nursery school children, elementary school and high school pupils, adolescents, college students, and grownup people. Intelligence itself has been measured by I.Q. and other forms of mental tests, by mental age, by school grades, by the amount of schooling, by personal achievement, and the like.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from these studies? Contrary to a widely accepted opinion, *intelligence as measured by the foregoing techniques does not appear to be a significant factor in making human beings either altruistic or egoistic. Some slight relationship between these two phenomena possibly exists, higher intelligence slightly favoring altruism; but even this relationship appears to be neither uniform nor consistent.*

The first confirmation of this conclusion is furnished by studies of the *relationship between intelligence and criminality,* as the most acute form of egoistic conduct. More than 163,000 cases were investigated from this standpoint. In earlier days, before such studies were undertaken, it was thought that most criminals were feeble-minded, or at least moronish, stupid, and of low intelligence. At the present time, in the light of a vast body of evidence, this conception is no longer regarded as tenable. If the feeble-minded and persons of very low intelligence contribute a slightly higher share of criminals than persons with normal intelligence, nevertheless the percentage of low intelligence, feeble-mindedness, and illiteracy is approximately the same in each population among the criminal and the non-criminal elements. C. F. Chassell has carefully summed up the results of the bulk of such studies.[1] In the first place, the results of various studies

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[1] C. F. Chassell, *The Relationship between Morality and Intellect,* New York, 1935.

of the relationship between delinquency and intelligence are contradictory, some exhibiting a positive and others a negative relationship, some a close and others a very remote relationship. In technical terms the coefficients of relation between these variables range from minus .52 to plus .76, in most of the best studies being near to zero (for instance .04 in the Army mental test of 18,711 delinquent cases). The contradictoriness of the results and the low coefficients in the most reliable studies indicate the absence of a close causal connection between criminality and intelligence or mental ability. The coefficients of colligation between *delinquency and illiteracy* fluctuate from minus .09 to plus .24; between *delinquency and amount of schooling,* from minus .12 to plus .19; between *criminality and school progress,* from .46 to .52; between *delinquency and educational achievement,* about minus .46. Considering that the coefficient of colligation is a still less reliable symptom of causal relationship than the coefficient of correlation, the foregoing coefficients of colligation indicate a lack of close relationship between intelligence and delinquency.

Similar are the results of the studies of the relationship between *intelligence and morality* (including altruism and egoism). The coefficients of correlation between these phenomena are contradictory in various studies and range from minus .35 to plus .84, remaining very low (about .1 to .3) in the most careful studies.[2]

These results are well confirmed by the data on the trend of wars, revolutions, and crimes and the growth of scientific discoveries and inventions and of institutions of higher learning from the twelfth to the twentieth century. The figures demonstrate that an increase of schooling, literacy, scientific discoveries, and inventions is not followed by a decrease of wars, revolutions, and crimes, as the most antisocial forms of conduct.

The conclusion is corroborated futher by a series of experimental and observational studies that reveal a *very slight relationship between even familiarity with the norms of altruistic and honest conduct and overt behavior.* For instance, in a series of experimental studies by H. Hartshorne, M. May, and F. Shuttleworth, though the children were aware of the moral norms prohibiting deceit and advocating social service, mutual aid, and sympathy, yet in their overt conduct they made scant application of these rules of good conduct. The coefficient of correlation between their moral awareness and their overt conduct was very low, between minus .020 and plus .346. "No definite relations between conduct and ideas about conduct were discovered."[3]

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2 Cf. Chassell, *op. cit.,* pp. 25-133, 377-470.
3 H. Hartshorne, M. May, and F. K. Shuttleworth, *Studies in the Nature of Character* (New York, 1930), pp. 157-65.

We daily observe persons and groups who profess high moral standards but whose moral conduct remains on a low plane. The overwhelming majority of Christians, when slapped on one cheek, fail to offer their other cheek. In general, they practice the norms of the Sermon on the Mount as little as non-Christians—sometimes even less. A scholar may be thoroughly conversant with all the ethical systems, writing excellent treatises on ethics, and yet be as egoistic as the rank and file of people. In brief, the mere inculcation of ideas of altruism and saintliness is insufficient to elicit corresponding conduct. One may embrace these ideals intellectually, analyze them and develop their implications brilliantly, and demonstrate their validity effectively; yet, more often than not, one fails to apply them in one's overt conduct.

Finally, a tentative study of historical men and women of intellectual genius discloses that many of these were of quite average stature in their morality and altruism, while others were actually below the average standard of the rank and file of their contemporaries. Whether the proportion of moral delinquency among persons of intellectual genius is greater or smaller than among the bulk of the population has not been determined. But the very fact that many intellectual geniuses have been notable egoists, sometimes conspicuously antisocial, points to the lack of any close connection between intellectuality on the one hand and altruism or egoism on the other. Like health or physical strength, intelligence as such seems to be a neutral factor in respect to altruism or egoism. Whether it operates to serve altruism or the reverse depends upon the environmental forces— family and school education and the educational character of the various agencies amidst which the individual is born and reared. If all such agencies mold it in an altruistic direction, it will serve the cause of altruism; otherwise, it will promote the cause of personal or group egoism. As we shall see, many educational influences in our modern society operate in both directions.

*Religious, ethical, and political ideologies as factors of altruism and egoism.* As long as the discrepancy between the ideologies of persons and groups and their overt conduct persists, it is relatively unimportant what kind of religious, ethical, political, or other doctrines they profess; for an unapplied ideology is not a major factor of altruism or egoism. That is why an avowedly religious person often behaves no more altruistically than an avowed atheist and why there is little difference in the overt conduct of partisans of an extremely materialistic and an extremely idealistic philosophy; of ardent advocates of capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism, democracy, and autocracy; of proponents and opponents of anti-Semitism; of those proclaiming the doctrines of racial superiority and

equality; or of purely ideological pacifists and militarists. This general principle explains why, for instance, we do not find much difference in the belligerency of autocratic and democratic countries and of Christian and non-Christian countries.

Only when religious, ethical, political, economic, artistic, and other ideologies are so deeply rooted in persons and groups that they are consistently *practiced*—only then do they become effective factors of altruism and egoism.

Unfortunately, intellectually sophisticated modern persons apply their altruistic ideologies much less consistently than primitive men and tribes, unsophisticated children, and simple persons in general. The ideologies and overt actions of the latter are far more intimately connected. In their thinking and speech their whole organism participates: their thoughts and speech reactions are an integral part of their overt actions. Their ideas and utterances are not employed to mask their actual conduct, nor are their overt activities readily performed in contradiction to their ideologies and speech reactions. They ordinarily say what they think and do what they say they do. "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein" (Luke 18:17), Jesus pointedly observed, stressing children's practice of what they profess, in contradistinction to the behavior of sophisticated hypocrites.

But modern adults can easily manipulate their thoughts and speech reactions independently of their overt behavior. They can profess almost anything without appreciably practicing what they preach.[4] Owing to this chasm, different persons may entertain quite opposite ideologies, and yet their overt conduct may be equally altruistic or egoistic. A person may substitute an atheistic ideology for a religious one or adopt a materialistic philosophy in place of an idealistic one without any significant change in the altruism or egoism of his overt behavior. Hence such "autonomous" ideologies and speech reactions are not important factors as determinants of altruism or egoism. Hence the relative impotence of most of the purely ideological indoctrination employed in the interest of a multitude of causes. In spite of thousands of daily sermons on Christian love and millions of invocations of the name of "Our Lord, Jesus," in spite of the most powerful propaganda against anti-Semitism and other racial and religious discrimination, overt Christian altruism has shown no tangible increase, nor have anti-Semitism and racial and religious tension perceptibly decreased.

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[4] Cf. the series of excellent observations on this in W. Galt, "Our Mother Tongue," *Psychoanalytic Review,* 1943; T. Burrow, *The Biology of Human Conflict,* New York, 1937; and my *Society, Culture,* and *Personality,* Chaps. 17-19.

# CONTEMPORARY AND PROSPECTIVE SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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The concept of social disorganization does not include all conditions of life which persons may regard as undesirable. The entrance of women into industry, for example, may be deplored by some and hailed by others as welcome advancement. As a sociological concept, disorganization refers only to the failure of institutional mechanisms—to the disintegration of the bonds and controls which make social teamwork carry out its functions. Total disorganization means the disappearance of the group or organization as an entity. Partial disorganization—far more common in actual occurrence—refers to some defectiveness in the social organization which results in incomplete fulfilling of its functions.[1]

The transition from primitive to civilized society has brought with it the reduction and even the elimination of many of the natural perils which early man constantly faced. Modern man has approached the long-sought states of freedom from hunger, from wild animals, and from diseases and other natural dangers. But in place of these ancient menaces there has arisen the far greater threat of extreme social disorganization which has at least the possibility of destroying the human race. The contemporary danger to man is man himself, but not as an individual. The great menace lies in the possibility that in his corporate relation to others he may bring things to an end through either destruction or neglect.

*Contemporary forms of social disorganization.* There is justification for the rich and fruitful sociological interest that has been shown in the standard forms of urban pathology, for these expressions of social disorganization are sources of heavy costs, much misery, and even menace to the general fabric of society. Futhermore, each decade brings an increase, sometimes almost spectacular, in the incidence of these conditions. Crime, for instance, involves an annual cost to the United States which runs into billions of dollars. This estimate refers only to conventional crimes; Sutherland has suggested that the additional bill for "white-collar criminality" may be much larger. No figures are available to define a trend for all types of crime; but if Federal Bureau of Investigation figures on such conventional crimes (as reported to police) as burglary, robbery, auto theft, and

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[1] The sociologist need not be troubled by the question of the objectivity of the concept of social disorganization. No aspect of human behavior is entirely unrelated to values, but in studying social disorganization the attention is on the degree of effectiveness of the functioning of a social organization. If we are not able to study social organization usefully, we could hardly hope to have a sociology at all.

the like are representative, the population of our nation is now more law-less than ever, for the figures for 1946 broke all previous records—in some cases by a large amount.[2]

The trend for mental disorders continues upward, reflecting various defects in the social mechanism which ordinarily produces and supports normality of mind and behavior. Although figures for hospitalization can-not be considered as accurate reflections of incidence of psychoses, the in-creases have been such as to make it highly unlikely that growing recogni-tion and hospitalization facilities alone could account for them. Some years ago a shocking calculation was made that, in New York state at least, one person in twenty may be expected to spend some time in a mental hospital during his life. More recently Malzberg has made expectancy calculations for the same state, and for some ages finds the expectation as high as one in twelve persons destined for a mental hospital.[3]

The situation is somewhat similar for the other conventional urban types of disorganization. The rise in the divorce rate is well known and has even stimulated some prophets to forecast the doom of our family sys-tem.[4] Suicide has had a long upward trend, usually temporarily interrupted by warfare, but accelerated by depressions. Vice behavior is difficult to measure, but rates for alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling, and minor vices are probably also on an irregular upward trend.

The transition to urban civilization has also produced some general disruption in culture by weakening or destroying certain of the mores and by contributing to the loss of valuable folk knowledge. It has been pointed out, for example, that the modern urban small family system tends to permit the loss of a mass of folk knowledge about infant behavior which, while less than scientific, served countless generations of uneducated people better than does the raw common sense of the apartment-house dweller.[5]

In still another aspect of modern life there has been an important degree of social disorganization. Although there may never have existed a com-pletely stable money and market system, it is clear that the currency infla-tion of recent years, the flourishing of black market and unofficial barter

[2] In a news release of August, 1946, FBI figures showed a six-month increase in major crimes (in 1,997 cities with a total population of 66 million) from 460,303 to 520,307.

[3] Benjamin Malzberg, "The Expectation of Mental Disease in New York State, 1920, 1930, 1940," *Trends of Mental Disease* (New York: American Psycho-pathological Association, 1945), pp. 42-55. Malzberg found that the expectation at birth for males (in New York state, 1940) was 80.5 per 1,000. The figure rises to 85.4 at the age of ten, then gradually declines.

[4] Conspicuous among these is C. C. Zimmerman, whose book, *The Failure of the Family,* is announced for 1947.

[5] See R. E. L. Faris, "Interaction of Generations and Family Stability," *American Sociological Review,* 12: 159 ff., April, 1947.

systems, and in some localities the virtual disappearance of the market system itself present a broad and general set of defects in that aspect of the general social organization which is called the economic order. During the late stages of the wartime shortages and rationing efforts in the United States, a considerable flow of goods entirely by-passed legitimate markets. A man with an apartment could get a car; a butcher with meat could buy nails and hardware. Good whiskey could be traded for almost anything. In parts of Europe the disruption has been far more serious. Peasants, required to turn over all their produce to the government at fixed prices in low-value and disintegrating currency, found means of concealing food, typically as much as a year's supply. Even with the resumption of recovery measures, peasants in certain regions had so lost faith in the market system that they would not yield any food for the general distribution until they had accumulated a year's supply.

In still another aspect of modern life, that of government, the disorganization has been notable, though not so invariably progressing. During the past quarter of a century most urban governments in the United States have been corrupt at least in certain aspects, and in a few cases the disintegration approached the point of inability to function. Scandals in county, state, and even federal governments have been common enough to reveal an inadequacy in the total political process. The degree of such corruption has not yet been great enough to constitute a general danger to the survival of the United States, although the example of the fall of France stands to warn of the consequences of political fragility in a hostile world. It is conceivable that future international relations may be of such a character that the United States will not be able to afford the luxury of electing such men as Warren G. Harding, James M. Curley, and Andrew May to important offices.

*The main causes of modern disorganization.* Present evidence does not force the student to an acceptance of the despondent outlook of the cosmic historians who foresee the downfall of modern man. It is true that most of the trends mentioned above have appeared to move in a single direction, but an examination of the underlying processes which produce them suggests that at least part of the disruption is related to conditions which are probably only temporary.

Many of the conventional urban forms of social pathology are clearly related to the fact of rapid population increase and city growth—an aspect of human history which cannot last indefinitely. Related to these processes is the unprecedented swiftness of the settling of the North American continent, involving at the peak an immigration of over a million persons a year.

These population changes are aspects of a great transition that has a beginning and an end. It is the change from preindustrial folk society to urban civilization. The population increase appears to occur as a result of the differential rates at which the civilization process affects birth and death rates. All primitive peoples live in a wasteful equilibrium of high birth and high death rates. Civilized populations have much lower rates of both kinds. But the fall of the death rate invariably occurs first, and in the interval before birth rates make their decline there occurs a spectacular population growth. This cycle has ended in certain European countries and is soon to end in the United States, when the present excess of women in the child-bearing ages passes into the nonfertile years. Java, India, Russia, Argentina, and other regions are in the phase of rapid growth, and other nonindustrial regions have yet to begin the process.

Urban expansion may continue for a time beyond the period of total population growth, as rural populations, displaced by farm mechanization, flow to the cities. But rural birth rates are also falling—even faster than urban rates in the United States—and the rural manpower surplus will in time run out, possibly within a few decades. There is the possibility of continued growth by immigration from other countries, but this is slight unless there should occur a remarkable shift in political temper regarding immigration policy.

The previously mentioned forms of urban disorganization—professional organized crime, vice, suicide, mental disorders, family disorganization, and the rest—all have their highest incidence in the slum areas of large cities. The causal connections differ in each case, but it seems clear that extreme disruption of the normal agencies of society, particularly the family and neighborhood primary groups, constitutes an important aspect of the causation of the pathological behavior. It is further evident that this disruption is no inevitable consequence of poverty, but rather of the instability of residence, the novelty of city life to persons of rural and even foreign origin, and the heterogeneity of cultural types—all of which result from the fact of rapid growth. Cessation of growth promises to permit the development of a kind of stability, in even the low-income urban population, which may be found in old European cities but which is not a familiar phenomenon in America.

This stability will not be merely a return to the settled form of social life of earlier times, but will undoubtedly be a new equilibrium, evolved slowly and adapted to an ever-changing modern urban civilization.

This does not of course mean instantaneous utopia. There will continue to be crime, unhappy families, eccentric personalities; but the crimes will probably be on the more manageable scale found, for example, in English

cities, whose relatively favorable crime conditions have often been erroneously attributed to superiority of police methods. And the other forms of pathological behavior should also give far less threat of general catastrophe.

*Processes of reorganziation.* The historical origin of social disorganization may have been at the time of, or shortly after, the development of trade relations between peoples of different cultures. If so, disorganization has been developing continuously for thousands of years. This is surely enough time to destroy civilization if this process could do it; yet mankind lives on, for during all this period there have been occurring, just as continually, certain anabolic social processes which have reorganized social relations almost, if not quite, as rapidly as they have been broken down.

Sumner has described the slow, unwitting, trial-and-error process by which new folkways, mores, and institutions arise and find their place in a social organization. His discussion was written mainly in terms of early man or preliterate peoples, but it should be recognized that folkways were not merely generated once in the beginning of things, but are being continuously produced by the same means today as they were twenty thousand years ago.

There is also a type of reorganization process which is not slow, continuous, and unwitting, but rather sudden, episodic, and dramatic. In this classification are found revivals, reform crusades, social movements, and revolutions. These begin at a definite time and place, have leadership, consciousness of destiny, and deliberate invention of methods. There is of course a trial-and-error process involved here too, for many movements rise, all hoping to succeed, but few of them leave any lasting impression upon the society. There are, however, so many of these efforts in critical periods of history that it can be asserted that almost every conceivable solution gets some actual trial. In the depression of the 1930's there were back-to-the-farm movements of various kinds, currency reform movements, technocracy and similar developments, revolutionary and fascist movements, mystical and religious movements, and others by the hundreds. Some of these were resurrections, or imitations, of movements from earlier crises or from foreign lands; others—Townsend, Ham and Eggs, and the like—were novel inventions. Some died quickly; others found a steady and apparently permanent level of membership, and, like the Townsend organization, remain today to exert a constant pressure on legislatures. Still others formed spores which lay dormant in Southern California, preparing to resume growth when times become appropriate. It is only a few, such as the great revolutions of France and Russia, that succeed to the extent of making a sudden, drastic, and enduring alteration of a society.

But the assessment of the effects of social movements is best made in the aggregate and over a considerable period of time. If democracy can be said to be a way of life—and a contrast of our system with those in South America supports this view—it was a way of life which took many centuries to achieve, and which involved ideological contributions from philosophers and poets, revolutionary movements in many lands, small rebellions on minor issues, and perhaps indirect contributions from nationalist, labor, cooperative, and other movements.

Similarly the recent political phenomenon called the New Deal may be regarded as the culmination of more than a century of social and political movements, including Granger, Populist, Silver, labor union, Wilson's New Freedom, and many others perhaps even unrecognized by officials of the New Deal administration. The eventual result of the many kinds of organized agitation could not easily have been foreseen a half century ago, nor is it easy today to know what eventual results will flow from the host of contemporary organizations for human betterment. Cause and effect are complex, and it can only be said that to counter the forces that disorganize a society in transition there occurs a broad general process that works toward reorganization and new equilibrium.

There is no intention here to suggest that final perfection is only five decades away. Even if our present forms of disorganization dwindle to insignificance we still have as a source of tragic concern a possibility of a War of the Hemispheres, which might well present examples of new degrees of social disorganization. Even without this catastrophe there loom population crises in various parts of the world. And, finally, since there is no indication that technological advance will cease, it can be taken for granted that entirely novel forms of social disorganization will continue to arise and test our adaptiveness and ingenuity.

# SOCIAL SOLIDARITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

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The United Nations is essentially a product of Western civilization, but its success will depend upon the cultivation of some qualities that are not particularly credited to the West. The members of the United Nations need to foster, for example, a sense of group solidarity—that is, a community of interests and responsibilities. This trait is less characteristic of Western culture than individualism, nationalism, and other traits which tend to separate rather than unite nations. Areas of common interest are represented by the local community, the state, the nation, by sectionalism or regionalism within the nation; and countless examples of this kind of solidarity exist in the Western world. Regional interests may include several nations, or be continental, or concern a hemisphere. On a vastly different level is the solidarity necessary for world organization, in which the general welfare of all peoples and nations should prevail above that of any nation or lesser group of nations. It is significant that the Charter of the United Nations contains not a few provisions which create a high degree of solidarity for the Organization.

The grounds for solidarity vary for different groups, whether preliterate or culturally advanced, whether Occidental or Oriental. In Asiatic countries one finds more solidarity in family and small community organization but little sense of national unity, though the latter is growing. Asiatic patterns of solidarity are being modified by influences brought in from the West. The peoples of the Far East are now awakening to a struggle for economic and political independence as Asiatics rather than as nationals. What is going on may be called a sociological revolution.

Solidarity is a common feature of primitive group life, virtually in the mores, an aspect of their cultural unity. The bases for solidarity vary for clan, horde, tribe, or other primitive groups. The clan, for instance, is usually the landowning group, closely knit by ties of kinship—a stable permanent structural unit in primitive society. Clan solidarity is founded on common descent, the possession of common totems and common territory. Economic, religious, and political duties may be determined largely by clan organization. The horde, on the other hand, is relatively unstable, its membership changing, but as the warmaking group it must have unity. Whether the circumstances be those of peace or war, the horde possesses no little degree of solidarity because of the cohesive force supplied by various social institutions, numerous collective ceremonies, and, not least,

conflict with other hordes. Primitive rituals are performed primarily for group welfare rather than for the protection of the individual. The grounds for solidarity within the horde are effective also in community organization above primitive levels, even in contemporary so-called civilized communities. There is a tribal solidarity, too, outsiders being regarded as enemies. It is not uncommon for primitive peoples to revert to a kinship basis in times of stress, instead of depending upon some other form of organization of horde or tribe.

It should not be thought that individualism is nonexistent in primitive societies, for no two persons are alike in nature or development, no two share identically or equally in the cultural environment. As associated with rights and duties, privileges and obligations, individualism is less important either as influence or result than the kinship system and solidarity in primitive society.

In some particulars the nations comprising the United Nations have not risen above tribal psychology. As members of the United Nations they undoubtedly are aware of the need for world organization and solidarity, but they have not as yet been willing to make the concessions essential to its success. The use of the veto by some of the most powerful nations illustrates the "social age" of nations which above all ought to strive for common welfare instead of for selfish interests. The Charter and the United Nations Organization created by it are in a sense forms of rationalization to permit escape from reality. Thus the dominant nations—and they are not alone in this—may cling to outmoded traditions of nationalism, statism, imperialism, power politics, etc. It is the purpose of the present article, however, to show that the Charter creates not only an Organization but an organization which depends upon elements of solidarity for the fulfillment of the purposes and principles outlined in the Charter.

The first words of the Charter—"We the peoples of the United Nations"—promise the solidarity associated with federalism, though the authors of the instrument suddenly veer off and construct another league of states. The jurisdiction of the United Nations applies directly to states which remain sovereign over their own territory and population, barring a few exceptions in which the United Nations Organization may deal directly with individuals, or intervene in matters heretofore regarded as essentially domestic. No federal form of jurisdiction is provided, however. It is therefore not surprising that the actions and policies of individual states, or the problems identified with either of the principal organs of the United Nations, receive so much attention, as if the Organization as a whole were less important than its parts. Study of the Charter will reveal that the Organization is superordinate to the member-states, the principal organs, or other parts of its machinery.

The Purposes and Principles in Chapter I of the Charter apply equally to all member-states and to the organs and special agencies which constitute the Organization. These purposes and principles are universal goals and limitations insofar as the Charter can express them, and represent common interests and responsibilities—that is, solidarity for the objectives of the United Nations. In a number of sections where the functions and powers of the principal organs are specified, the comprehensive application of the purposes and principles set forth in Chapter I is mentioned again for emphasis. In some instances prior emphasis is placed upon the United Nations or the Organization, the organs standing out in a somewhat departmental nature. The several organs have no power or functions or jurisdiction except as a means for the United Nations to fulfill the objectives of the Charter. The Charter shows very clearly that there must be unity and a common objective for the members of the United Nations and for the entire machinery of the Organization.

Perhaps no other part of the Organization appears as independent or powerful in its functions as the Security Council. The Charter provides, however, in Article 24 (2), that the Security Council, in discharging its duties, "shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations." The rule applies to all functions and powers of the Security Council regardless of which of several chapters in the Charter are concerned. Similarly, regional arrangements provided for in Chapter VIII of the Charter are to be "consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations" (Article 52-1). The Economic and Social Council is intended to promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Its goals, set forth in Article 55, are meant to be universal. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, outlined in Article 76, are all "in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter."

The International Court of Justice is integrated with the United Nations, all Members of the United Nations being *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Here, too, the spirit of the Charter is to prevail.

The Secretariat, with all staffs assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and other organs of the United Nations, illustrates in the most practical manner the coordination and solidarity which exist in the official machinery of the Organization.

Throughout the United Nations Organization as authorized by the Charter, the purposes and principles which provide motives for concerted effort by all members should be regarded as primary and fundamental. The General Assembly is responsible for the enforcement of the goals thus

specified, and for preventing any of the organs or special agencies from trespassing against the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. Even nonmember states are to some extent limited by and protected by the stated objectives of the United Nations, and under certain conditions have access to its services.

The functions and powers of the principal organs of the United Nations may, of course, be discussed separately, though the Charter makes no clear-cut departmental division. The principal organs are interrelated to such a degree that an appraisal of any one of them is impossible without considering the related functions and powers of the others. The perspective for an appraisal of either organ must be as broad as the Organization itself.

The General Assembly, for example, is functionally related to all the other organs, and in some respects stands in authority above other organs. The General Assembly, in the opinion of the writer, represents the solidarity of the Organization better than any of the other organs. It has broad powers of discussion and recommendation; it can recommend action by the United Nations if and when the Security Council fails to function in an emergency; it has authority over the Economic and Social Council; the Trusteeship Council operates under the authority of the General Assembly, though the Security Council has certain responsibilities in strategic areas; the General Assembly receives reports from all organs and agencies of the Organization; and it is important that the financial controls of the Organization are vested in the General Assembly. The General Assembly is the one body which includes all the members, and is therefore more directly representative of the United Nations. The complex network of interrelationship in functions and powers which ties the General Assembly to the rest of the Organization cannot be detailed here, but would enlarge the points enumerated above to show that the United Nations Organization as a whole is more important than the General Assembly.[1]

The Security Council is not exclusive in its functions and powers, but in many respects is interrelated with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, the Secretariat, and with subordinate or special agencies of the Organization. Again it may be remarked that an appraisal of the Security Council is possible only in terms of the Organization as a whole. This is equally true of the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the rest of the Organization.

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[1] A detailed discussion of the interdependence of the principal organs of the United Nations, as outlined in the Charter, is available in two other articles by the present writer: "Collective Functions and Powers of the United Nations," *World Affairs Interpreter*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, April and July, 1947.

That this principle of unity applies so generally within the Organization surely indicates a remarkable conception of organic solidarity on the part of those who wrote and signed the Charter. The principle has been endorsed by the nations which ratified and accepted the Charter. It is unfortunate that the most powerful nations have shown too little capacity in leadership for the realization of the goals of the Charter. Much good has no doubt been achieved in the several meetings of the United Nations Assembly, but there has been too much petty conflict, which undermines popular confidence in the United Nations.

Several specialized agencies[2] now identified with the United Nations also merit consideration:

>International Labor Organization
>Food and Agriculture Organization
>International Monetary Fund
>International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
>Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization
>United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
>World Health Organization
>International Refugee Organization
>International Trade Organization

These specialized agencies are functioning as subordinate parts of the United Nations Organization and are subject to the general purposes and principles expressed in the Charter. These agencies should be regarded as integrated with the United Nations and as contributing their share toward its functioning solidarity. The services rendered by these special agencies are available to all members of the United Nations either directly or through the functions and powers of one of the principal organs.

There are other general international organizations which deal with problems of cotton, agriculture, public health, rubber, telecommunication, opium, and maritime, aerial, and postal problems, etc., but they are not as broad or impartial as the specialized agencies referred to above. Instead, organizations of this type may represent areas of common interest for the nations directly concerned, membership and policy depending upon intergovernmental agreements concerning specific commodities or services. Agreements made before World War II for the creation of these organizations have been subject to review and amendment, and continue in effect with the knowledge and approval of the United Nations. Some

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[2] Brief descriptions of the agencies listed below, and related documentary material, may be consulted in *International Organization,* Vol. I, No. 1, February, 1947. Numbers 2 and 3 of this publication of the World Peace Foundation will also be useful for an evaluation of the United Nations.

of these organizations may not be as broad in their solidarity as would be desirable, and, unless carefully supervised by the United Nations, may promote special interests rather than general welfare.

Among regional organizations; the Arab League, the Caribbean Commission, and the Inter-American System represent another form of solidarity. The Inter-American System is very complex and includes several councils and commissions. These three organizations concern areas that are spatially distant and unlike in mode of life, each being an area of common interest and responsibility. As long as these organizations are "consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations," they are permissible and compatible with the larger solidarity of the United Nations.

Several War and Transitional Organizations also exist. Allied Control Councils and Commissions are operating in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Rumania, Germany, Japan, and Korea. There are several political and legal organizations, relief and rehabilitation organizations, which depend upon international good will and cooperation, and thus express some form and degree of solidarity.

Several years ago the "One World or None" theme was popularized. Now the idea of "Two Worlds or None" is being aired. That is, the hypothesis of federal expansion of the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and of the United States, on the other hand, is a topic for common discussion. The development of two political federations, with vastly different philosophies and systems of production and distribution,[3] is of course a challenging possibility. Should this happen, each federal system would represent an area of common interest, or a community of interests and responsibilities, to use the definition of solidarity given above. Each federation would have the solidarity achieved by a union of peoples rather than that characteristic of a union of states. But where would we go from there? Would the two federations merely provide a new alignment of nations for another world war? Or would the resultant be one federation and world solidarity? Federation does not imply similarity or uniformity in culture for peoples or nations forming such an organization, but it may be difficult to reconcile two such unlike cultural systems as the U.S.S.R. and the United States represent. It is necessary for all peoples everywhere to consider whether the form of solidarity possible under the United Nations will be sufficient to counteract trends toward war and to insure peace. There is an option—one federation of nations which would be the ideal expression of world solidarity.

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[3] An excellent analysis of this hypothesis is available in William Bernard Ziff, *Two Worlds; A Realistic Approach to the Problem of Keeping the Peace*, New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

# INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN RETIREMENT*

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The records of 63 retirements from industry are given special study in this paper. These 63 came from a variety of industries. Their working lives had been spent in mining, with lumber, camera, oil, and billiard ball industries, and several had served long in the employ of the railroads. The positions which they previously held include the following: station agent, locomotive engineers, ship captains, buckers and fallers in timber, truck drivers, stationary engineers, pumpers, mechanics, inspectors, stenographers, salesmen, managers, and technical librarians.

Most of these industrial retirants had working experience with several companies. From the age of 30 on, employment with three different companies represents the average, although one had been with as many as eight companies and five had spent their entire working period since 30 with one concern. The median years of service with their last employing agency was twenty-one years. One of these had worked fifty years with the same railroad, starting at 16 and retiring at 66. Fourteen of the group were in their first year of retirement and one had been retired for twenty years. Only a few, however, had experienced retirement for more than seven years.

A comparative study of the following items was possible for only 47 of the 63 cases. Half of these, or 24, claimed voluntary retirement. Since many of these were employed by companies where a fixed retirement age was general, it is possible that several who claimed volition might have delayed their retirement beyond the fixed age in the absence of such company practice.

The 47 reports were graded on the basis of degrees of satisfaction with the following results:

Excellently adjusted . . . . 9    Uncertain . . . . . . . . 5
Satisfied . . . . . . . . 24    Dissatisfied . . . . . . . . 9

In comparing the excellently adjusted with the dissatisfied, it was found that seven out of nine classified as excellently adjusted had retired voluntarily. On the other hand, none of the dissatisfied group had retired willingly. They had done so because of health or institutional reasons.

Factors influencing voluntary retirement cover a wide range, the reason stated most often being ill health. Thirteen had retired because of this reason alone, and others because of related factors such as the "slowing-up-process," the "wish to make available positions for younger men," "desire for quiet work," or a "feeling that a rest was due." Other reasons given were injuries and accidents, the wish to enjoy life, a feeling that the work was too heavy, the illness of the wife, or a wish to be independent. One had retired because of his steadily decreasing wages due to his age.

The attitude toward retirement was found to be important. Of those classified as excellent eight out of nine had looked forward eagerly to the experience, only one had anticipated it with dread. In the dissatisfied group the opposite was true. Eight of these had approached retirement with an attitude of resignation or dread, only one had viewed it with eagerness.

Analysis suggests that there is some positive correlation between the economic factor and the degree of satisfaction. The nine excellently adjusted persons indicated no economic problems. Of the nine dissatisfied, eight claimed deficient income. Only one was well provided for financially.

The main source of dissatisfaction is economic need. Many expressed this and stated that they could be happy if their income was adequate. For example, one retirant wrote, "Nothing but hard work, small income under a high cost of living. Living, or trying to live on $64 per month, paying high taxes, high doctor bills, is very confusing." Another states, "Retirement would be okay if my income were larger. The pension was based on prewar living cost which was about one half the present cost." The economic factor is also important in regard to the wife's reaction to retirement. The wife's reaction generally agrees with that of the husband. In the dissatisfied group seven wives were also dissatisfied, only two were satisfied.

This economic aspect is discernible in the excellent group also. All of the wives had a very favorable attitude to retirement. This is significant when we recall that none of the excellently adjusted group indicated economic need. Also in the satisfied group seven wives were very favorable to retirement, and only one dissatisfied; this attitude was due to economic need.

What are the difficulties which face these retirants when they apply for work? A surprising number, 31 cases of the 47, had not sought work. Of the 16 who had sought work, only 8 mentioned age as a hindering factor. In normal times doubtless a larger percentage would have men-

tioned age as a factor. The war period enabled many of these retirants to hold down a job. A few who were working did so to "make ends meet," not because they desired it.

Upon the basis of this study, activity is a significant factor in the good adjustment of the industrial retirant. Twenty-five of the group were active, that is, engaged in some kind of work without compensation, while 8 were regularly employed. This constitutes a total of 33 active retirants. Eleven were listed as inactive. In three cases the record did not permit classification. In correlating their activity with the type of adjustment, all 9 of the excellent group, and 22 of the 24 in the satisfied group were active. Most of those idle were found in the uncertain and dissatisfied groups. Six of the 9 dissatisfied were completely idle as were all 5 of the uncertain group.

The types of work engaged in were extremely varied. Among those listed were justice of the peace, night clerk, machinist, janitor, technical library administration and research activities, aircraft work, and jig work. The activities most frequently mentioned were gardening, land-scaping, and janitor and carpenter work. Most of them were happy with these activities, giving as reasons the chance to meet people, the learning of a new trade, or the fact that the activity kept them busy. Perhaps the real reason was the feeling of usefulness which they derived from the work. There were a few exceptions. One man employed as a janitor worked only because of financial stress.

The income from all sources, including annuity, varies as do other items. Eighteen of the 47 received less than $100 a month. Twenty-one had incomes between $100 and $200, while three enjoyed monthly incomes of over $200. The small fixed income received by many, coupled with inflation, is a source of financial worry. Some, however, had savings which tided them through, while others work full or part time to make ends meet. A goodly number own their own homes and a small acreage, which often provides them with produce and poultry. Among those not so fortunate, some have sold their homes. Others have rented their homes and work at lower pay and longer hours than before retirement. The general picture of the group represents a strict economizing and budgeting, with a restriction of amusement and recreation, especially of the commercial type.

Changes in the living and housing arrangements frequently accompany retirement. Of the group, 19 made no change at all. Several moved from the city to the country because the cost of living was cheaper. Some sold their homes and rented apartments; and one couple lived very happily in a trailer, traveling from place to place.

Thirty-two remained in the same location; 14, however, moved for various reasons. The predominant reason for a change was cheaper living and lower taxes which were available in the country. Other factors were a change of climate for health, desire for a "change of atmosphere," and love of traveling and better business opportunities. Some had been living in the company's houses and retirement necessitated a change.

Most of the retirants have continued their old hobbies. Some mentioned church and charity work, civic advancement, field trips, lathe work, enjoyment of families, and one mentioned that he raised cock fighters and enjoyed horse races.

Some have developed new hobbies. In most cases, however, a relatively small number of new hobbies were mentioned. They found their satisfactions in old activities. Hunting, fishing, gardening, and church work were mentioned most frequently. Only a few were interested in reading. A few enjoyed traveling, Red Cross work, and carpentry. One unique hobby was the fashioning of delicate and fine articles from copper.

Most of the retirants had not changed their philosophy of life because of retirement. Several, however, did indicate that they enjoyed life more, were more contented and happier than previously. One stated he felt more like doing philanthropic work, and one wrote: "I don't worry about the world coming to end; when it does, I hope I will be there for the big show."

A goodly number had not made significant economic preparation before retirement. Most of them had strived to own their homes. Others had a savings account, life insurance, or had made careful investments, and a few had acquired small income property which they could rent. These who had been able to make some economic preparation did not find the annuity so confining.

Most of the retirants gave no comment on preparation other than economic for the retirement experience. While answers to earlier questions on hobbies would indicate that some had occasional recreation plans, only one of the 47 stated that any well-rounded plan had been made for the retirement years.

Thirty-eight of 47 respondents offered some advice to others in their occupations approaching the retirement years. As may be expected, several of the answers embody the trite platitudes which are ancient in our culture. More interesting and numerous are those answers which are more personal and which reflect either the writer's satisfactions or his disappointments. Of all who offered suggestions 5 emphasized early retirement and 5 others "taking it easy." These were all made by the satisfied or excellently satisfied. In contrast 7 of the 14 who advised securing another job or keep-

ing busy at some work were from the uncertain and dissatisfied groups. Of those who emphasized keeping one's health, 2 were experiencing poor health. "Standing on your own feet" and hobbies also received attention in the answers.

Six each of the excellently satisfied and of the dissatisfied provided suggestions. The former group offered the following advice.

1. "Keep union card and tools, and be ready to work if the urge becomes strong. It is sometimes necessary to quit two or three times before one can really break from his job."
2. "Make up your mind to enjoy every moment of retirement. Don't worry about anything."
3. "Advise a new line of work, travel or hobby."
4. "Retire and get out. Enjoy life. Do not work until you are ready to die. It is then too late."
5. "Save a nest egg if possible. Try to get into some business for yourself but be sure you know the business to avoid failure."
6. "Take your retirement with a smile and enjoy the few years left you. Get a hobby and keep busy at it."

It is interesting that a careful review of the records of these six excellently satisfied retirants reveals no inconsistency between their advice and their own retirement experience.

This is less true of the six from the dissatisfied group. One who suggested, "Learn two or three ways of making a living" had, following his retirement, worked as a house painter, salesman, and gardener—all with unsatisfactory results. A former precision worker, who advises, "By all means prepare yourself for a hobby that you like and stay with it," had upon retirement built himself a horseshoe court but had soon lost interest in this. He comments, "Those horseshoes don't seem to act right for me." This same man indicated marked satisfaction making rocket bomb shells during the war. He adds, "It was considered high-class work, being single-point lathe work (.0001 inch tolerance) and seldom was there one rejected." It is possible that the satisfaction found in his war work offers some clue as to the type of hobbies acceptable to the exacting worker. Certainly it does not appear to be horseshoes, where a toss of 40 feet involves too great a tolerance for his standards. Perhaps the real basis of dissatisfaction in this case lies, not in his reaction to hobbies, but in his concern over his economic welfare. This is suggested in several of his answers. His comment on cabinet work is revealing. "What I like to do most is cabinet work in my garage but there is no money in it. You can work all day making a table lamp for a neighbor but you can't charge him anything for it."

Another of the dissatisfied, retired because of ill health, suggests, "Save what you can, try to own a home and guard your health." Still another reflected his very keen longing for retirement in a rural setting. This was as yet denied him because of his wife's employment in the city. He advises: "Purchase about one acre of land, build a home to meet personal requirements out of the high tax district. Produce food for own use, landscape ground for own enjoyment. Build outdoor backyard for enjoyment of family and friends. Stay out of debt." Here is another case where dissatisfaction is not the result of retirement so much as the denial of the things one longs for in retirement. If this man could escape the household work imposed by his wife's employment, or if his pension was sufficiently large to make unnecessary the wife's employment, permitting his dream to be realized, his attitude might shift to the satisfied category.

The suggestions of the last two of the dissatisfied deal with denied social changes. One advises his associates to "work for more adequate retirement pay such as the Townsend Plan." The other would abolish retirement based on any age requirement.

There appears to be no positive correlation between the degree of satisfaction and the number of children and grandchildren. In the dissatisfied group there was a total of 24 children and 25 grandchildren, while in the excellent group there was a total of 16 children and 31 grandchildren.

There is no clear evidence to suggest that those who move are happier than those who remain in the old location. Two of the most satisfied retirants in this group worked for the railroad. One remained in the small town where he was station agent. He derives great satisfaction from his orchard, his rock garden, his church, and his lodge. The other, a locomotive engineer, moved several hundred miles to a small community where he and his wife continue a full life in church, lodge, and community affairs.

Some general observation may be made between the retirants from industry and those from the profession of either the ministry or education. In general, the reports from the industrial group were sketchier and less articulate. Retirants from industry also appear to derive less satisfaction in such retirement activities as reading. More vigorous activities such as hunting and fishing claim a larger share of their retirement enthusiasm. Also a larger proportion of this group appears to acquiesce with less resistance to a state of inactivity. There are differences, however, only in degree.

# STATISTICAL LOGIC IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

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The use of any particular research technique involves assumptions which limit the interpretations which may be drawn from the research findings. The interpretation of statistical findings is limited by assumptions involved in sampling, in measures of variability, in application of formulae assuming linearity or normal distribution, etc. The concern of this paper is with the assumption of a causally homogeneous universe, the limitations imposed on interpretation when the assumption is inapplicable, and ways in which the assumption may be more fully met so as to justify broader interpretations of statistical findings.

## I

A generalization in the field of sociology, as in any other field of study, may take either of two distinct but frequently confused forms. A generalization may describe the behavior of certain *units,* i.e., individual persons or collectivities (groups, institutions, etc.), or it may describe the behavior of an aggregate of such units. The former typically specifies the behavior of any unit belonging to a given class of units when placed in a specified configuration of factors. The latter indicates that, if a number of such units belonging to a given class be placed in a specified configuration of factors, the units will exhibit certain behavior on the average with a certain expected variability.

Generalizations concerning aggregates are sometimes disguised through being phrased as applying to individual units with a certain degree of probability. Statements of probability, however, are derived invariably by stating the number of units which behave in a given manner as a fraction of the total number of units in the group studied. The application of these fractions, under the name of probability, to the expected behavior of individual units and instances is simply a heuristic device, which must not be allowed to cloud the fact that the fractions bear no necessary relation to the behavior of the individual unit. Some students propose such generalizations in terms of probability as the ultimate form of observation concerning human behavior.[1] The position taken in this paper, however, is the opposite. It is rather the view of Thomas and Znaniecki when they call a statement

. . . of causal influences which hold true "on the average," "in the majority of cases"—a flat self-contradiction, for, if something is a cause, it must have by its very definition, always and necessarily *the same effect,* otherwise it is not a cause at all.[2]

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[1] Cf. E. L. Thorndike, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 5 ff.

[2] *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918), Vol. I, p. 39.

The contrast may be illustrated by reference to a sociometric study of ethnic cleavages between Spanish-American and Anglo-American students in two New Mexico high schools.[3] A strong statistical tendency was found for members of each group to name as their "pals" members of their own ethnic group, and a possible tendency for the members of whichever group was in the minority to reject members of the majority more often than members of the majority reject minority persons. Accepting these findings at face value, do they indicate that *all* the students tend (with other factors constant) to prefer members of their own ethnic group and to be more clannish when in the minority, or do they indicate that only *some* of the members discriminate in selecting friends and that only *some* of the students become more clannish when they find themselves in the minority situation? There is nothing in the finding of a significant Chi-square to indicate whether we are dealing with a principle which applies to each individual or with two or more principles which apply to different groups of persons. Hence, this study uncovers an important point which demands further investigation, but gives no basis for a generalization concerning how individual persons behave when in a majority or minority ethnic situation.

Generalization concerning aggregates has certain value when it is desired to exercise control in the sense of changing an average; e.g., Burgess'[4] prediction study provides factors which may be so manipulated as to reduce the proportion of persons who violate parole. However, if such generalizations are to contribute to the building up of a body of scientific theory, they must ultimately be generalizations about units—criminals, families, religious institutions, etc. Since it is based on averages, it is the nature of statistical research to yield only generalizations concerning aggregates, and one of the important problems is to relate statistical findings to the units studied.

## II

For scientific generalization, observation of individual units under conditions of experimental control is logically the most desirable research technique.[5] But it has generally been impossible in sociology to duplicate the conditions of control and precise observation required for true experiment. When observation has been focused on the single person or col-

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[3] Charles P. Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry*, 6: 7-25, 1943.

[4] Andrew A. Bruce, Albert J. Harno, John Landesco, and Ernest W. Burgess, *The Workings of the Indeterminate-Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* (State of Illinois, 1928), pp. 205-49.

[5] Cf. George Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942), pp. 54-78.

lectivity through the case study method, many difficulties have arisen. Almost invariably a number of elements in the situation have been changing simultaneously, and assignment of relationships has been a matter of judgment. And the individual's overt behavior is often of a simple sort which does not reveal the many stresses underlying it. Furthermore, there is no way to separate unique sequences of behavior from generalized sequences applying to a whole class of units.

But though it may not be possible to secure the necessary control while examining one individual, more adequate results may be secured through observation and comparison of a number of individuals. Though it is not possible to subject one individual at will to a variety of conditions, it may be possible to select and observe a number of individuals who have been subjected to different conditions and compare their respective behavior. If the varied conditions have some effect on individual behavior, it should be reflected in corresponding differences in behavior among the individuals.

The problem of controlling the great number of variables operating at once may also be attacked through two devices. First, the influence of factors not correlated with the variable whose effect is being examined will be randomized and will thereby cancel out when averages based on large numbers of cases are compared. And, second, the influence of correlated variables may be measured and subtracted or held constant through statistical devices.

For example, in predicting voting behavior, although we cannot control the fact that a person is foreign or a Democrat or a Catholic, and although we cannot perceive with assurance the exact influence of these conditions on any given individual, if these are factors which influence people's voting, their effects may be seen in an aggregate. If the fact that a man is a Catholic influences the way he votes and if other factors are randomized or statistically controlled, then the proportion of Catholics as compared with non-Catholics who vote in a given way should measure the degree of that influence. At the same time this yields a partial measure of the degree of generality of the particular influence being studied.[6]

Thus statistics is a device for making observations which cannot adequately be made on a single unit. The unit is studied indirectly, through observing an aggregate, control being exercised by various techniques based on large numbers of cases. For this reason, statistics has been likened to the experimental method and its conclusions sometimes interpreted in the same manner as experimental conclusions.

[6] Cf. W. F. Ogburn and Nell S. Talbot, "A Measurement of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," *Social Forces,* 8:175-83, December, 1929. The problem in this study is further complicated by the fact that counties rather than individual voters are the units of analysis.

As has been observed, however, the logic by which it is possible to conclude that if certain things are true of the unit, then certain things will be true of the aggregate, cannot be applied in reverse without qualification. From a correlation between two factors in an aggregate, it cannot be reasoned back that the same relationship necessarily applies to the units of the aggregate. The finding that a given proportion of immigrants vote Republican gives no assurance that every immigrant has a tendency of a given weight to vote Republican. But are there conditions under which statistical observations can be applied to individual units?

An illustration provides the best answer to this question. If a dice is rolled 6,000 times and each face appears approximately 1,000 times, we conclude that the nature of the dice is such that any one face is as likely to appear as any other. If, however, one face appears 2,000 times, we conclude that the dice is "loaded." In each case we have reasoned from the aggregate distribution to a statement about the individual dice. This can be done because we know that the dice was the same each time it was thrown. But if we threw 6,000 different dice once each, we should still draw the same conclusion from the aggregate and state that it is in the nature of all the individual dice to act in a given manner. This, too, would be sound because we are reasonably confident that the individual dice do not differ in their significant aspects. Thus the illustration shows that the characteristics of the individual can be deduced from the distribution of the aggregate when the units are alike in the operation of the principle being examined. For example, if, and only if, the fact of being a Catholic influences all individuals in the same manner and degree with respect to their voting behavior,[7] the difference between the voting behavior of Catholics and non-Catholics can be taken as a measure of the degree of influence the fact of being Catholic exercises on the voting behavior of an individual.

This does not mean that all the subjects studied must be completely alike. The requirement is merely that the subjects be homogeneous with respect to the system of causes affecting the variable in question.[8] The type of homogeneity demanded may be illustrated with reference to the dice. The dice thrown may be of all colors and all sizes and composition; these things are irrelevant. All that matters is that the dice all have six sides and be perfectly balanced. But no matter how perfectly alike in other respects, the universe is not homogeneous if some dice are eight sided and some six. The number of sides and the balance constitute the causal system

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[7] This is not the same as saying that all Catholics must vote the same, because other factors influence their vote than the fact that they are Catholic.

[8] Cf. Thomas C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941), pp. 223 ff.

determining the dice's behavior, and no statement concerning individuals can be made from statistics unless the causal system is alike in each. Thus, if blame stimulates some persons to harder effort but stifles the effort of others, no correlation coefficient between blame and effort has any meaning when applied to any individual in the group. Whether the subjects were mixed with respect to age, sex, nationality, intelligence, etc., would have no bearing on causal homogeneity unless one of these factors made a difference in the subject's response to blame.

Common experience indicates that seldom, perhaps never, in social phenomena is the strict requirement of homogeneity met. But likewise it is infrequent that complete heterogeneity exists. Most statistical research, then, partially meets the requirement, and statistics may be regarded as an approximate frame of reference for sociological study.

The approximateness of the statistical frame of reference needs to be stressed in order to counteract the appearance of precision given by exact mathematical methods and by generalizations stated in terms of probable degree of error. Granted precise conclusions about the aggregate, conclusions about the unit remain approximate under most circumstances. On the other hand, the fact that the framework is approximate is not justification for abandoning or depreciating it. Probably every framework that has been devised has failed to fit nature completely, but scientific advancement has proceeded from one imprecise framework to another. Improvement can come within an approximate framework if the nature of its approximateness is recognized and constant attempts are made during its use to approach the ideal requirements. It is the thesis of this paper that sounder results can be secured through keeping this limitation of statistical inference in mind and through making all possible efforts to approach the required homogeneity.[9]

### III

There are at least four means by which homogeneity can often be increased. One is through careful scrutiny and redefinition of the bounds of the universe of data being studied. Any generalization has applicability to a given category of phenomena. It may be that narrower categories are required, that no important generalizations can be made which fit all the units which have been grouped together for study. Such subclassification is well illustrated in a study of responses to a war bond drive.[10] In assess-

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[9] For a more complete and technical presentation of the problem of homogeneity or "analogy," cf. John M. Keynes, *A Treatise on Probability* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1929), pp. 327-428 *et passim*.

[10] Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 109-38.

ing the effectiveness of different appeals in inducing people to buy war bonds, it was found that different types of appeals were effective on different persons. Hence, the subjects being studied were placed in four categories according to their "predispositions" at the time of exposure to the appeals. Within each of these categories there was far more uniformity in the effectiveness of particular appeals than within the entire group of subjects. Consequently, statistical generalizations derived for each of the types would approximate generalizations about individuals far more closely than would statistical generalizations derived from the entire group.

Besides subclassification, the universe may require redefinition in new terms, excluding some and adding other units. There can be no systematic rule governing such redefinitions of the limits within which a generalization applies. It requires a wide familiarity with the data, a good deal of imagination, and a trial-and-error process. The test of a good definition of the universe is that statistical generalizations apply accurately to the individuals in the universe. What must be avoided is the common practice of defining the universe *a priori* and never questioning the definition.

A second method of increasing homogeneity is through redefinition of the independent or causal variables. This may be illustrated from a questionnaire study of attitudes toward Jews, in which the statistical evidence suggests that frequency of contact with Jews is positively related to anti-Semitic attitudes.[11] But, as the author points out, it is unlikely that all contacts have the same effect on an individual's attitudes. Hence greater frequency of some sorts of contacts probably enhances prejudice, and abundance of other sorts of contacts lessens it. It is possible that mere frequency of contact is not at all causally related to prejudice, but that a relationship is shown statistically merely because unfavorable contacts are more common than favorable in the area studied. The procedure should be to analyze out the various sorts of contact, as Myrdal does for the Negro,[12] grouping them according to their influence on attitude and treating the different groups as separate variables. The consequence should be variables each of which is more homogeneous in its effect on attitude than undifferentiated frequency of contact.

The tendency for statisticians to be satisfied with correlating variables on which simple data happen to be at hand and to avoid logical and common-sense analysis of their variables severely restricts the usefulness

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[11] Howard Harlan, "Some Factors Affecting Attitude toward Jews," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 824-27, December, 1942.

[12] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 650-56.

of many a study. Indices rather than causes are yielded by such methods. As in redefining universes, there is no short cut in finding the best variables. In nearly every instance it will be necessary to seek out new data to make a useful analysis.

Redefinition of the variables may also be a means to broader definition of the universe within which a generalization is applicable. For example, one study reported that lighter skin Negroes adjust more easily in upper classes of Negro society, but dark skins adjust more readily in lower classes.[13] This means that several universes have been set up, corresponding to different classes, and a separate generalization made for each. But these findings are pushed further, asking what it is that accounts for the differential adjustment patterns of different-colored Negroes in the various class levels. The classes in which dark Negroes adjust most easily are those with the largest proportion of dark Negroes, and those in which light Negroes adjust most easily are those with the largest proportion of light Negroes. Thus the generalization could be restated so as to omit social class level. Subclassification need not be a stopping place; it may be a device for locating a significant variable so that an over-all generalization can be restated with greater validity. Thus in this instance the demand for greater homogeneity is met through redefinition of the variable, and subclassification is merely an intermediate step.

Redefinition of the dependent or resultant variable is another device which may increase homogeneity. The concept being studied may be found to consist of more than one variable, or not to constitute a useful variable. The concept of "adjustment," for example, is often not a single variable. Adjustment refers to a state which may be achieved in a number of ways. Different persons assume different patterns of behavior in the face of the same set of conditions, but all may be equally well adjusted. The relationship of other variables to adjustment may be confused because of these different forms of adjustment. Thus a typology of adjustments, each studied separately, might give most satisfactory results.

The fourth point demanding attention is the interference of other variables than those upon the basis of which generalization is attempted. In most instances the effect of one variable is so confused by the influence of other variables that it is impossible to see a consistent relationship of any sort. Devices for holding factors constant are discussed in most statistics texts and need not be summarized here.

The careful attention to appropriate subclassification and reclassification, redefinition of variables, and holding correlated factors constant

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[13] W. Lloyd Warner, Buford Junker, and Walter Adams, *Color and Human Nature* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1941), *passim*.

should increase homogeneity considerably in most instances and thereby make statistical generalization more useful as applied to the behavior of units. But these require efforts not usually taken in statistical studies. The study cannot be limited by the simple data made available from census tables or standardized scales. The form in which the hypothesis is stated (universe and variables) must be subject to change in the light of early findings. Statistical manipulation must be complemented with a great amount of imagination and insight, which comes from intimate acquaintance with the subject matter. And there must be detailed examination of the individual cases to which statistical generalizations do not fully apply. The customary practice of showing that the findings apply significantly to some aggregate must be complemented, as a step toward making new generalizations, by a study of why the generalizations do not apply to each unit.

# A PROPOSED PATTERN FOR SOCIOLOGY*

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Several sociologists have presented studies which point out that there is little uniformity in the design of the sociology curricula among colleges and universities in the United States.[1] This lack of uniformity is shown in many ways. Only a few specific courses are offered in most of the colleges and universities. Almost every sociology department has its own arrangement and sequence of courses. Course descriptions vary almost unbelievably for courses with the same titles, and courses with quite different titles carry identical descriptions. In general, these studies indicate that there is no clearly defined program of sociology in our colleges and universities. Rather, there is a patchwork design built around a very minute and indefinite core of topics. There are, indeed, almost as many designs as there are sociology departments, a condition which implies chance development or at least very little systematic planning.

The findings of the studies cited support the contention of Katona that there is a cultural lag among sociologists.[2] A part of this lag seems to be centered around one of the basic prerequisites of any scientific discipline, which is "an exact and systematic arrangement or classification of knowledge concerning some subject or group of subjects." Instead of a systematic arrangement, the studies cited show that chaos exists among sociologists as to the placement of sociology courses in the curriculum. In many colleges and universities advanced courses appear to be open to students without prerequisites. Introduction to Sociology is required by some departments for advanced work, but it is open to students of various classifications: in some freshman, in most sophomore, and in others junior. The classification required for enrollment in General Sociology, Social Problems, and Social Psychology varies from freshman in some to gradu-

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* Adapted from a paper read before the Southwestern Sociological Society, April 4, 1947.

[1] L. L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States in the Last Fifty Years," *American Journal of Sociology,* 50: 534-48, May, 1945; E. S. Bogardus, "Organization of Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research,* 25: 356-63, March, 1941; J. K. Folsom, "The Aims and Structure of the Social Sciences," *Education,* 66: 521-28, April, 1946; R. Kennedy & R. J. Reeves, "Sociology in American Colleges," *American Sociological Review,* 7: 661-75, October, 1942; R. I. Kutak, "The Sociological Curriculum in the Southeastern States," *Social Forces,* 24: 55-66, October, 1945; J. T. Landis, "The Sociology Curriculum and Teacher Training," *American Sociological Review,* 12: 113-16, February, 1947; G. A. Lundberg, *et al., Trends in American Sociology,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929; E. S. Richards, "The Sociology Program in Southwestern Colleges and Universities," (unpublished study).

[2] Arthur Katona, "The Teaching of Sociology in a Democracy," *American Sociological Review,* 8: 439-49, August, 1943.

ate student in others. It would seem to be a mistake to show such chaos and leave the matter as it is. It is therefore reasonable, if not wise, to present a proposal which might serve to alleviate much of the present confusion. This is done with the hope that it may stimulate and help to order thinking and discussion on the problem.

*Proposed pattern.* The first part of the proposal involves the acceptance of an interpretation of sociology that can be used as a guide in the selection of the courses to be included in the sociology curriculum. The problem of course selection is very real to sociologists who seek academic status for their field, and especially for those interested in equity for their own students or for reasonable foundations for majors and graduate students.[3]

The explanation of sociology to be accepted is largely oriented in keeping with the analysis of sociology presented by Young.[4] In this analysis emphasis is placed on social contacts and the interaction growing out of these contacts; in this paper the concept *relations* will be substituted for *contacts*. Thus, sociology is considered as the discipline concerned with the relations established among mankind and the interactions causing and resulting from these relations. This definition of sociology suggests the following principles, which will be used throughout this proposal:

1. Social relations may be considered as the central phenomena for study in sociology. These may be viewed as person-to-person, person-to-group, and group-to-group relations.

2. If we are to understand social relations we will study the processes by which they develop.

3. To understand social relations as they exist, attention will be directed mainly to the normal rather than to the problem aspects of social relations.

Although this interpretation of sociology is accepted by many sociologists, it is a recognized fact that many courses are included in the sociology curricula that are not in keeping with the preceding principles. In many colleges and universities the sociology program is centered around the problem aspects of social relations. In others emphasis is placed on the study of our cultural past. And in still others it may be an exercise in learning the definitions of concepts that are accepted by one or several members of the sociological fraternity as sociological in nature. According

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[3] This is not to imply that only sociologists are confronted with this problem. The same statement can be applied to practically all areas of study that are included in college curricula.

[4] Kimball Young, *An Introductory Sociology* (New York: American Book Company, 1939), pp. xiii-xv.

to this proposal, all courses not in keeping with the preceding principles would be eliminated, and many courses not now included would be added because of their possible contribution to the understanding of social relations.

The second part of the proposal is the presentation of a scheme that might be used in the placement of courses in the sociology curriculum. As Bogardus has shown, those responsible for planning sociology curricula have given very little attention to the logical arrangement of courses and fields in sociology.[5] This fact, it seems, is responsible for most of the disorder that is found in the sociology curricula in our colleges and universities. To aid in bringing about order it is proposed that sociology courses be grouped on three levels: (1) the general information level, (2) the specific knowledge level, and (3) the theory and research level.[6] Although courses on these three levels are offered by most colleges, it is difficult to discern attempts to group courses according to these levels or any other systematic scheme.

It appears logical that the sequence of sociology courses might well conform to these levels. General information courses might be open for students of freshman and sophomore classifications. Specific knowledge courses should be for upper division college years. Theory and research courses should be reserved principally for sociology majors who are seniors and for graduate students.

The third part of the proposal deals with examples of the courses that should be offered on each level of instruction and suggestions as to the specific courses that should be required on each level. As shown in Table 1, there are two courses of the general information type which should be offered wherever sociology is included as a part of the college curriculum: these in order are Introduction to Sociology and Introduction to Social Psychology. Both of these courses should be of a survey nature. Since Introduction to Sociology is usually the first course that college students will have in this field, it should be used to familiarize students with the meaning and purposes of sociology as a field of study. After this, emphasis should be placed on the complex of social relations that have been established in group life (see principle 1, page 706). Then, attention should be directed to an understanding of the various ways by which social relations have been organized and systematized. In this connection it must be remembered that college students have become habituated to many of these relations, but in most instances they are not conscious of the "why" of

[5] E. S. Bogardus, "Organization of Sociology," *Sociology and Social Research,* 25: 356-60, March, 1941.

[6] See *ibid.,* pp. 361-63, for a comparative scheme.

the relations. Thus, it is necessary to analyze the principles underlying group relations and to stress the value of these relations to the individual and to group life.

TABLE 1

SPECIFIC COURSES TO BE INCLUDED UNDER THE PROPOSED LEVELS OF INSTRUCTION

| Level | Courses |
| --- | --- |
| I | General Information:<br>Introduction to Sociology, and<br>Introduction to Social Psychology |
| II | Specific Knowledge:<br>Selected aspects of social relations, such as the family, race relations, relations in rural and in urban communities, delinquent classes, the child and society, migration, population problems, et cetera |
| III | Theory and Research:<br>Such courses as Social Theory, Social Control, Social Origins, Social Change, Social Thought, Community Planning, Social Planning, Social Statistics, Social Research, et cetera |

Introduction to Social Psychology should follow immediately after the introductory course in sociology.[7] In this course emphasis should be placed on "the responses of individuals to social influences, such as cultural heritage, institutions, groups, persons, and social situations."[8] Or students should be encouraged to develop consciousness as to how the established social relations affect them and how, in turn, they affect social relations (see principle 2, page 706). Both of these courses are recommended as prerequisites to all other sociology courses. This is not a generally accepted procedure, but as the content of the introductory course in sociology seems to be more and more concerned with social relations in the most recent texts, it appears essential that the processes by which individuals establish social relations and the details of collective behavior be treated formally before courses on the specific knowledge level are approached. If this is done specific knowledge courses would not have to be watered down and the student confused by fragmentary and repetitive treatment

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[7] This suggestion was made more than two decades ago in L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926), pp. v-vi.

[8] G. A. Lundberg, *et al.*, *Trends in American Sociology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929), p. 115.

of social psychological materials which are rich enough to deserve treatment in their own right.[9]

Specific knowledge courses should follow these two general information courses. On this level isolated phases of social relations should be selected for intensive study. Nevertheless, it might be polite to include many courses which because of the logic of their content or historical accident have become accepted as the property of sociologists. The principles previously presented, however, should serve as guides in planning the content of these courses. In other words, instead of emphasizing the problems resulting from social relations, attention should be directed to understanding the organization that has been established, the ties that have developed, and the processes and attitudes that make possible the ties and the organization that exist. As an example, instead of emphasizing the problems that grow out of race differences attention should be directed to an understanding of the present race relations pattern. To do this it is necessary to study the racial ties that exist, the processes and attitudes that make these ties what they are, and the organization ensuing from the interplay of ties, attitudes, and processes.

The actual courses to be offered on this level should be rationally determined by the needs in different localities and by the number of instructors available at each college. Yet it seems as if several social relations are of such importance today that they should find a place in the sociology curriculum of most colleges. Among these are the family, delinquent classes, race relations, migration and population changes, and the child and society. It should be remembered, however, that the content of each of these courses should be selected so as to bring about a better understanding of the social relations that exist in the area where the college is located.

Courses on the theory and research level should be opened only to those undergraduates and graduate students who have demonstrated the propriety of such registration by courses on the general information and the specific knowledge levels. It is recognized that, for most college students, even many sociological majors, an intensive understanding of the social relations that exist completes their sociological education. Still, beyond this practical understanding of social relations there is an extensive field for conscientious students. There is need for the collection and systematization of sociological data, and for the formulation of underlying principles that might be used in improving social relations. This is the scientific

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[9] This conclusion resulted for the writer from three years of experimentation with the preceding sequence and requirements for advanced sociology courses.

stage. It is the stage that is arrived at by the few; these are called sociologists. To many, this is the only level thought of in connection with sociology. Yet courses on this level should be reserved for those who have demonstrated their ability as scientists.

On this level the scientific and the philosophical aspects of social relations should be considered. The scientific phase will be centered around an understanding of the procedure that should be followed in studying social relations from a concrete and objective standpoint. The philosophical will involve the formulation of principles and hypotheses for the purpose of understanding social relations as thoroughly as possible, and for social invention. Both of these are worthy purposes if sociology is to be of value as a scientific discipline. To accomplish the preceding purposes certain courses on this level should be considered as essential for students with a major in sociology. Among these in order are Social Research, Social Theory, Social Control, and Social Change.

*Personal reflections.* This proposal developed out of the attempt by the writer to formulate a sociology program in a small college that offers a major in sociology. The first idea that occurred was to study the catalogues of colleges and universities offering majors in sociology, and to attempt to formulate a program consistent with those that already exist. Because of the inconsistencies found it was soon decided that this was impossible. The next step was to review the studies concerned with the sociology curriculum and to attempt to formulate a program from the suggestions and conclusions presented in these studies. Again the task was found impossible. This experience was impressive enough, however, to show the need for some guides that might be used by neophyte sociologists, if not by professional sociologists, in formulating a program.

Therefore, out of necessity, a proposed program for a sociology curriculum has been presented. It is, of course, recognized that the program represents only one school of sociological thought. It is further recognized that no paper plan is perfect, but merely suggestive of the trends that future planning might take. The purpose of such a proposal is to put one man's reflections down so as to invite comment, and, beyond comment, thought. If you disagree with this proposal, what are your ideas? Certainly it appears from the catalogues studied, and from the conclusions of many sociologists who have studied the sociology programs in colleges and universities, that it is high time sociologists get down to earth and tackle the problem dealt with in this paper, one which has been recognized by sociologists for many years.

# CAMPUS ADJUSTMENT OF VETERANS

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War is imagined to have many and varied effects on those who partici-
pate actively in it. In 1946 a class in research methods at the University
of Texas undertook the task of measuring these effects as they appeared
in the veterans then enrolled. The project was undertaken partly as a
class exercise and partly for the facts which it would uncover, and was
designed with the lack of experience of the students in mind.

Information was obtained through circulation of a schedule among vet-
eran and nonveteran students. A sample of 565 veterans and 100 other
students was obtained and matched closely with the normal campus
population. Figures obtained from the office of the registrar indicated
that veteran students made definitely better grades and completed a higher
percentage of courses in which they had registered than did nonveteran
students.[1]

Perhaps of primary importance in assessing the findings is the age of
the veterans. While 21 was the modal age, the distribution was badly
skewed toward higher ages; 21 of the 565 were more than 30 years old.
Yet they were concentrated in the lower academic classifications; there
were twice as many freshmen as sophomores. Too, the veterans were
planning their education in terms of definite occupational goals in about
90 per cent of the cases, but only about 1 in 7 planned to use skills acquired
in military service in those occupations. Further, they were not affiliating
in great numbers with organizations of any sort: only about 20 per cent
had signed up with the most popular veterans organization.

*The veterans' attitude-value complex.* Interests and attitudes of these
men are more important to the social scientist than their backgrounds,
though each is essential to understanding the other.

Politicians had assumed that the veterans would feel they were en-
titled to preferential treatment in several areas and had enacted legisla-
tion designed to afford such advantages. If this particular group of veterans
is typical, the politicians were wrong. Only in the matter of housing
did these men indicate that they thought they were entitled to "the breaks."
Only 7 per cent thought their military service ought to be of value in
politics, about one fourth thought they should be preferred in private
employment, and less than half felt that government jobs should be
opened to them ahead of nonveterans. Slightly more than one third thought

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[1] Copies of the schedules and tabular presentation of results have been elimi-
nated in this report to save space. They are available on request.

they deserved special consideration in the matter of taking required courses in college.

A typical opinion as to preferential treatment runs:

I think we as veterans have no reason to gripe too much about the way we are being treated. After all, we have to forget the idea that we are a special group entitled to special privileges. . . . I do think it is time a lot of people were made to realize the veteran knows full well the part he has had in winning the war but that now he is back to try to pick up where he left off as fast as possible. He is thankful for the help he is now getting under the G.I. Bill and of course he could name some improvement—that's natural—but he doesn't want to be treated like a high school child or a demented old man by people who want to "help our boys."

The veterans were interested in politics; about three fourths of them indicated they intended to vote in the next state election. As is to be expected in Texas, 67 per cent of them indicated they would vote for the Democratic nominee to 7 per cent who preferred the Republican. Only 2 of the 565 listed their preference as Communist.

As a result of their war experience, these persons listed themselves as having become more liberal in politics and in economic thinking—though two thirds of them said the war had made them more antagonistic toward labor unions. War had also made them, according to self-reports, more favorably inclined toward racial and ethnic groups and very much more favorable toward religion (74 per cent more favorable, 14 per cent less so).

In spite of their dependence on other funds for support, their approval of the G.I. Bill was overwhelming. "Good, but could be better" was checked by 73 per cent and "as fine as could be asked" by 16 per cent more. Only 10 per cent chose one of the two negative statements.

Two questions were asked in an attempt to get at the difficulty experienced in adjustment. The first inquired as to the length of time needed to "get in the groove" as a civilian. Forty-seven per cent thought "about a month," 11 per cent checked "about a year," and 40 per cent chose "I doubt if they ever will."

The same problem was approached by asking how difficult it had been to settle down to studying. Identical numbers, 235, said it was "pretty tough" and "no trouble at all," with 8 per cent reporting initial difficulty which had been overcome. In both of these questions the veterans were divided almost exactly between indicating serious difficulty and relatively easy adjustment. This division was made the basis for additional analysis.

Attitudes toward school experiences were asked for on two questions: "What do you think of your classes?" and "How do you feel about spending your time in school?" Faced with four alternatives in the first, 43 per cent of the veterans chose that most favorable to the instructors,

about one fourth complained at the triviality of materials presented, and a scattering few said that the instructors were incompetent or that classes were badly conducted. In reply to the second, two thirds were enthusiastic in their opinion that school was worth while, and only 6 persons expressed an active distaste.

When the data are broken down to reveal the percentage of veterans who had difficulty in adjusting to university life or who found the adjustment easy, significant differences appear in a number of instances. Marital status seems to be of little importance. The figures indicate that married men have a slightly greater ease of adjustment, but the differences are too slight to be significant in a sample of this size. The number of divorced persons in the sample, 15 of 565, is so small as to make these figures altogether unreliable. The indication, for what it is worth, is that married men were slightly less often in the "pretty tough" and slightly more often in the "no trouble" classes.

Contrary to expectations, length of service is not positively correlated with difficulty of adjustment; in fact, there appears a slight tendency in the opposite direction. The men who were in service for 40 months or more appear to have less trouble than those serving for shorter periods. These men are, of course, more mature and it seems safe to assume that they attained higher ranks. Both of these factors would be expected, a priori, to aid in their adjustment. It is unfortunate that the data do not lend themselves to testing this hypothesis. Length of service overseas does show a tendency to be correlated with difficulty of adjustment; only 23 per cent of the men who had served more than two and a half years saying they had no trouble in adjustment, in comparison with 40 per cent, or more, for each of the categories below this point.

Those veterans whose college work was interrupted by military service had more trouble than those for whom this was not true. Of those whose work had been interrupted 49 per cent reported adjustment as "pretty tough," while 35 per cent said they had "no trouble." For those who had not interrupted their education by service the corresponding figures were 37 and 45. Much the same situation appears when those who had planned to enter college are compared with those who had made no such plans. This is in direct contradiction to expressed fears of educators who believed that the G.I. Bill would induce many veterans to enter college without sufficient preparation or seriousness of purpose and would, consequently, result in disillusionment and frustration for these men.

Similarly, those whose educational aims were changed as a result of their service showed greater difficulty in fitting in than those who had

not made such a change, and those who are attempting to utilize skills learned during their service find more difficulty than those who did not. It is suggested that such persons may be attempting to apply knowledge which does not fit into the requirements of educational institutions and that some of their troubles may arise from this. On the other hand, those who are studying for a specific occupation, i.e., those whose educational aims are clearly defined, get along considerably better than those who have not made such plans.

An attempt was made to determine whether recreational patterns were associated with ease of adjustment, but the results are inconclusive. Questions were arranged on an extraversion-introversion scale. The only significant difference noted was that those who reported they "could find nothing worth doing" were about three times as likely to report college life "pretty tough" as "no trouble." But this group also returned the highest percentage of "hard at first, but okeh now" answers. The "no trouble" answers in this series do show a consistent decline from the extravert to the introvert end of the scale.

Perhaps the most important portion of the survey is the attempt to get at changes in attitudes induced by or associated with military service. A series of questions were asked in this effort and the results are consistent, though the shift indicated is not great. In general, the men came out of the war with more liberal opinions as concerns political and economic matters. They also developed more favorable attitudes toward racial and ethnic groups and toward religion. But the most notable change was recorded in development of antagonistic attitudes toward labor unions.

Several veterans pointed out the impossibility of their attributing changes toward "liberalism" or "conservatism" to their war experiences, one remarking that a man must grow up sometime and that most veterans did a lot of growing up during their period of war service. This would indicate that such changes might have occurred, whether the men were in service or not, and that the traditionally liberal atmosphere of a university campus might also be an important factor in explaining the changes recorded.

However, this reasoning seems insufficient to account for the changes recorded in attitudes toward religion and labor unions. In each area changes by a large majority are recorded by both veterans and nonveterans, and in closely similar proportions. Changes in political and economic philosophies were much more evenly distributed between negative and positive poles.

As to changes in religious attitudes, it may be pointed out that any crisis of such magnitude as this war is likely to call for soul searching and closer attachment to values which promise security. Also, of course, the assertion that "there are no atheists in the foxholes" was repeated endlessly from pulpits and other places.

Similarly, labor unions came in for a vast amount of discussion during the war years, and most of it was derogatory. Almost every strike was hailed as breaking the "no strike pledge" given by labor leaders early in the conflict. Further, and perhaps of more importance, most Americans had close relatives or intimate friends in military service, or were in service themselves; and any incident brought to public attention which seemed to threaten the success of the war effort was construed as a threat to the life of these men and women in uniform.

For these or other reasons, most of the veterans and nonveterans would agree, it would seem, with the young officer who said:

Labor may have done their part, but any man in the service would have gladly traded his position for work in a war plant, with only room, board and a picture show once a week as pay. I may be wrong in saying so, but I know that at times overseas my men would have taken great pleasure in turning a barrage loose on our men and women back home who were stopping production because they were mistreated in that they received as pay per hour only what my men were receiving per day for spilling their blood and life in some God-forsaken jungle bog. Organized labor has gone too damned far, and they have too much power for their place as only approximately one-twentieth of the population of our nation.

On the other hand, a veteran who said his attitude had become more favorable to union labor explained, "People are inclined to forget that corporations were just as responsible for the labor strikes during the war as the labor unions."

In all of these fields there is room for research to determine whether the changes reported were due to the nature of the experiences of the veterans while under arms or whether they are due to skillful propaganda of which they were the targets. Perhaps such research would clear up the seeming anomaly of men reporting themselves more liberal in their economic thinking and more antagonistic toward labor unions, since the two have traditionally been assumed to go together.

Interesting illumination on attitudes of veterans toward themselves and their problems comes from a series of queries as to fields in which they feel they should be given preferential treatment: "the breaks." Those who do not believe they should be relieved of the necessity for taking required courses had a harder time adjusting to college than those who held that belief. The same is true of those who do not believe veterans

should be given preference as to political office or in housing. But those who said that veterans were entitled to preference in employment, both governmental and private, showed almost equal percentages having little and much difficulty fitting themselves to the campus life. Percentages in both categories run higher for those answering "yes" but the "no answer" group is larger also.

A final group of questions sought to reveal attitudes toward the school and school work. As was to be expected, those who felt that their instructors were undecided and did not know too much and those who thought some of the material presented was trivial had a harder time becoming adjusted than did those who expressed approval of the instructors and who objected to other students taking too active part in the classroom procedure. Significantly, those in the latter two classes were more likely to report that they had initial difficulty. Those who admitted that they did not like school also reported that they found the going tougher, while those who expressed entire satisfaction reported themselves well adjusted more frequently than as having had difficulty. But, strangely, those who said they were satisfied only "well enough" displayed the highest percentage, 50, of those who said they had no trouble.

An inspection of the table derived by breaking down the answers to each item on the schedule into those who found adjustment "pretty tough," "no trouble," and "hard at first, but okeh now" shows that there are a few characteristics clearly associated with difficulty in fitting into campus life. These characteristics are indicated in the accompanying table.

Throughout the data there is ample evidence that the veterans resent too great efforts to aid them, and, at the same time, feel that they need help and are having more or less difficulty in readjusting. Two comments are more are less typical:

Readjustment is not nearly the problem it is popularly pictured . . . except in case of the physically handicapped. Veterans' benefits should be limited to aid where the veteran has actually been deprived of something because of his service or term of service. Most vets will never be the same again; however, most of us will, I believe, become moderately well adjusted in about one year.

I don't know why there is so much concern about the manner in which we are readjusting ourselves. I really need the G.I. Bill to help me through school. But otherwise I would like to be left to attend to my own affairs . . . After all we must all grow up sometime, and we are still human.

This duality of feeling is perhaps the outstanding conclusion to be drawn from the study, with the resentment possibly outweighing the desire to be allowed to work out his own destiny, but with both feelings clearly apparent.

Much of the other differences noted might be explained in terms of the greater chronological and emotional age attained by the veterans as com-

pared with their younger fellow students. Whether or not this is a sufficient explanation, however, seems to be doubtful. True, the differences noted in most cases are small, but they are consistent and they uniformly point in the direction of more difficulty for the veteran.

Hence it would appear that the effect of the war on the ability to adjust to a campus situation is easy to exaggerate but is present in sufficient degree to merit attention by both classroom teachers and administrators.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH RELATIVE EASE AND DIFFICULTY
OF ADJUSTMENT, WITH PERCENTAGES OF THOSE DISPLAYING
THE GIVEN CHARACTERISTIC*

| Characteristic | Degree of Difficulty Checked | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | Pretty Tough | No Trouble |
| Length of service | | |
| Less than 20 months | 45 | 36 |
| More than 50 months | 34 | 44 |
| College career interrupted | 46 | 35 |
| Educational aims changed | 44 | 36 |
| No specific occupational aim | 52 | 34 |
| Feel vets due "breaks" in course work | 36 | 46 |
| Less favorable to religion | 42 | 33 |
| Find nothing worth doing with spare time | 47 | 17 |
| Dislike faculty | 48 | 35 |
| Class material is trivial | 51 | 36 |
| Satisfied with school | 32 | 50 |

* Percentages do not add up to 100 because of the elimination of the "hard at first, but okeh now" and "no answer" categories. These range from zero to 20 per cent, in one case.

# CRIMINALITY AND THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

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In our culture, economic motivation is recognized widely as a factor of significance in explaining criminal behavior. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the problem, such as the relation of economic status to criminality, will require further research if the nature of this association is to be understood more clearly. Is there more crime per capita among the poor than among the upper and middle classes? Records of arrests and convictions seem to justify an affirmative answer. Statistics pertaining to the economic status of prison inmates likewise disclose that the latter are recruited mainly from the lower income groups of our population.[1] On the other hand, studies of "white collar criminality" suggest that lawlessness is more prevalent among the upper income groups than one might ordinarily suppose.[2]

Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing the number of offenses committed by persons enjoying special economic privileges who are in a position to defeat the ends of justice by resorting to bribery and other dishonest practices. Could we also determine how many individuals evade the spirit of the law by means of legal technicalities, doubtless the list would be an imposing one.[3] In this connection, it is well to emphasize that many of the crimes of the poor, particularly those involving violence by Negroes, are such as to outrage society and thereby bring an insistent demand for speedy justice. But the types of offenses which seem more characteristic of the white collar classes, notably fraud and embezzlement, generally fail to arouse a corresponding degree of public indignation.[4]

Although it is generally admitted that low economic status is one of the more important conditioning factors in criminality, this does not mean, of course, that poverty is a cause of crime. *Its significance lies in the accompanying circumstances which tend to produce personal and social disorganization and thereby engender disrespect for law.* With poverty are associated such evils as lack of educational and vocational opportunity, ill health, and slum housing, with resultant overcrowding and scarcity of

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[1] See *Report on the Causes of Crime,* Vol. I, Washington: National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931.

[2] E. H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 5, February, 1940, and "Is 'White Collar Crime' Crime?" Vol. 10, April, 1945.

[3] Undersecretary of the Treasury A. L. Wiggins has stated that there are five billion dollars in evaded taxes outstanding in the United States. (November 5, 1947)

[4] Since the volume of detected crime is greater at the lower income levels, serious social problems are created on that account.

wholesome recreation. In the blighted areas of our large cities inhabited by the underprivileged are concentrated an undue proportion of agencies destructive of conventional moral standards. Furthermore, agencies designed to exert a beneficial influence socially have their effectiveness curtailed by the demoralizing surroundings in which they try to function. It is in such localities that the great majority of urban Negroes are compelled to reside, not only by reason of low incomes but because their color automatically excludes them from the better residential districts in most instances. The high crime rates of urban Negroes seem hardly surprising in view of their serious environmental handicaps.

*Unemployment and crime.*   A number of authoritative studies reveal that the volume of adult crime usually increases with unemployment. Especially is this true of offenses against property, which comprise a major portion of the total. Even in so-called "normal" times, of all persons sentenced to prison during a stated period those reported unemployed when committing their offenses constitute a large fraction of the whole group. Not only does enforced idleness afford greater opportunities for engaging in crime but prolonged unemployment tends to undermine self-respect, often causing the victim to become embittered, cynical, and openly antisocial.

*Effects of changes in the business cycle.*   Certain investigations conducted prior to the last depression indicated that property offenses increased as prosperity declined. Conversely, with the upturn of the business cycle came a steady drop in the crime rate, although the degree of correspondence was not so marked with respect to offenses against persons.

The hypothesis that the desperation attendant upon abject poverty supplies adequate motivation for property crimes appears to have much factual support. Yet this view, in harmony with "common sense" ideas, requires some qualification if it is to stand unchallenged. Not all of the poor steal, and not all of the rich are honest. There are varying degrees of poverty, as well as gradations in the intensity of temptation and of the ability of the individual to resist it, depending upon the circumstances. To find a satisfactory explanation for antisocial behavior in a particular case, it is necessary to study the criminal from all angles, lest we ascribe to poverty greater importance as a conditioning factor than may be warranted by the evidence. Some indications of a reversal of the anticipated upward trend of crime during the last depression suggest that complicating factors may have entered the picture.[5]

[5] G. B. Vold, "The Amount and Nature of Crime," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XI, May, 1935.

*Juvenile delinquency.*  Numerous case histories show that the typical hardened convict often begins his life of crime as a delinquent child. For that reason alone, the relation of poverty to youthful misconduct is of unusual significance. Certainly, it is reasonable to believe that from economic insecurity in childhood will emerge tensions, frustrations, and fears which inspire bitterness and produce a psychology of distrust of the established social order.

Contrary to popular opinion, however, several careful studies disclose a statistical decrease in cases of delinquency handled by the juvenile courts during the last depression.[6] At first glance, it might appear that the economic factor is not very important in this connection. There is little proof that such is the case, especially in view of the possibility that any one of the following factors could have accounted for at least a slight decline:

(1) For the first time, public relief services were inaugurated on a national scale, since desperate measures were required to meet the crisis, and private charities had proved incapable of handling the load. In marked contrast to conditions under previous policies of poor relief, it is conceivable that many families in the marginal income groups enjoyed a greater measure of economic security under the new setup than in the years immediately preceding the depression. (2) Both the CCC and the NYA were of substantial benefit to youth. In addition, with the aid of trained instructors provided by the WPA, many communities sponsored social, recreational, and cultural activities on a reasonably extensive scale. (3) Inasmuch as parents could spend more time at home, they were able to exercise closer supervision over their children than was the case later during wartime. Of no little importance was the presence of the mother, whose services in industry were no longer in demand. To qualify for relief grants, moreover, it was of advantage to the father to remain with the family rather than to leave home. (4) By reason of widespread demands for economy in municipal government, the police departments of many communities lacked both the personnel and resources essential for doing a good job of crime detection. (5) During the depression, doubtless many complainants were reluctant to press charges involving children from poverty-stricken families suspected of petty thefts. Police in certain localities were reported inclined to be lenient with juveniles from underprivileged homes believed guilty of minor infractions of the law. As a result, statistical decreases in delinquency did not necessarily reflect the true situation in some jurisdictions. (On the other hand, a portion of the in-

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6 See David Bogen, "Juvenile Delinquency and Economic Trend," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 9, April, 1944.

crease during wartime may have been due to the public becoming "delinquency conscious" and demanding remedial action on the part of law enforcement and social agencies, largely as a result of the attention focused on the problem in the press.)

*Delinquency areas.* Additional evidence in support of the view that poverty is linked closely with crime is derived from studies of "delinquency areas." In such localities—which may be transitional, interstitial, or isolated in character—youthful crime persists regardless of the type of family moving into the area. Poverty is one of the things that the great majority of these people have in common. But the children of the law-abiding poor are exposed to underworld temptations which they may be unable to resist. In city after city the story is much the same. With "small-fry" crooks tending to congregate in disadvantaged areas, the honest poor are penalized for their poverty by being forced to live under conditions breeding vice and crime.

*The postwar period.* More recent developments point to a high level of crime, despite conditions of comparative prosperity. Yet it is well to remember that several aspects of the problem must be considered if we are to make an accurate appraisal of the situation in terms of economic trend. Among them are the following:

(1) The return of several million young men to civilian life, a large proportion of whom are experiencing problems of adjustment; (2) record-breaking increases in living costs, with the burden falling most heavily upon the lower income groups; (3) the long-continued housing shortage, which has rendered integration of new family units an impossibility in numerous instances; (4) a comparatively high ratio of population mobility, beginning during wartime, which has resulted in the uprooting of entire families from their native environment and the breaking of social ties imparting permanence and stability to the group; (5) employment and educational handicaps of recent high school graduates thrown into competition with war veterans entitled to preferential treatment; (6) greater temptation to steal because of the large volume of money in circulation and growing carelessness in the handling of personal property; (7) stronger inducements to commit property crimes because of the high resale value of many commodities; and (8) the postwar "letdown," with resultant repudiation in some quarters of conventional ethical and moral standards.

From the foregoing, it would seem that the economic factor continues to assume a position of importance in the causation of crime. Although it is impossible to determine the true extent of "white collar" criminality, there

are indications that it is more prevalent than many law enforcement agencies would care to admit. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that crime is a symptom of social disorganization which often results from the unwholesome environment associated with poverty. In our complex urban-industrial economy, with its pecuniary emphasis and periodic stresses and strains, an increase in property crimes especially can be looked for unless the underlying causes of economic and social maladjustment are removed. Further study of the relation of economic status to criminality should help to clarify the issue.

# SOCIAL DISTANCE IN DAILY VOCABULARY

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
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The idea of social distance is as old as the idea of friend or of foe. It is as dynamic as conflict or as cooperation. It has appeared in conversation since the beginning of language. It is as close at hand as one's daily vocabulary. A natural and easy approach to the study of the concept of social distance may be made through the examination of vocabularies. Since this concept appears in all languages, its universal or basically human significance is evident.

Social distance in the daily vocabularies of people will now be considered both in its direct and simple expressions and also in its refinements and subtle distinctions. Only samples can be given, for a large volume would be required in order to cover all the forms in which social distance distinctions appear in daily conversation. Footnotes will indicate some of the sociological implications of these terms that are used in popular speech. Although the sampling is restricted to the English language, all other languages are rich and dynamic in their revelations of the social distance reactions of mankind.

"Stranger" is one of the most common terms indicating an aspect of social distance. It suggests unusual or out-of-the-ordinary appearance or action. It involves behavior that is not understood, that may mean danger, and that is to be examined before it is accepted or trusted.[1]

The strange human being is the person who dresses "differently," whose physical appearance is out of the ordinary, who has peculiar inflections of the voice, who speaks an unknown tongue, who behaves in an unfamiliar manner. The stranger runs a wide gamut in his types. He may range from "a man from Mars" to a member of one's own group who affects an unusual degree of reserve.

A long essay could be written on the way in which animals react to "strangers." The senses ranging from the olfactory to the auditory or visual enable an animal to detect a stranger, either of his own or of another species. Even the house cat is quick to view a strange human being

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[1] The term *stranger* took on the nature of a sociological concept under the attention of sociologists such as G. Simmel in his *Sociologie* (Leipzig: Duncker and Humboldt, 1908), and of Park and Burgess in their *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 317-27. The concept of the stranger is the theme of Margaret M. Wood in her *The Stranger, A Study in Social Relationships* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

with alarm. A strange voice arouses suspicion. A member of the family who appears in an entirely different costume from that usually worn will at once arouse Tabby's suspicions until the familiar voice is heard. Touser at least sniffs at the stranger. The so-called social insects recognize the stranger through smell or touch or vibrations connected with sounds.

The foreigner is a "national stranger."[2] He does not "belong." The foreigner is set off by fact of birth or oath of allegiance or both. He represents a kind of social distance that is marked off by artificially derived boundary lines (based on birth and loyalty). He can overcome most of the social distance, but rarely all of it, by swearing away his homeland allegiance and by behaving loyally to his adopted nation.

The "enemy" is distant because he is feared. In some way he threatens to take away one's possessions, to injure one, or to kill. He may be largely a stranger, as in the case of the Japanese people, generally speaking, when viewed by Westerners. Or he may once have "belonged." In fact, he may have been an intimate, but one who has aroused a violent antagonism against himself—due to his own fault, or to the fault of the one who regards him as an enemy, or to the faults of both (usually of both).[3]

"Estranged" denotes a previous degree of personal nearness. Because of the changes in some of the attitudes of one party or of the other or of both, personal farness has developed and has reached the not-speaking and not-having-anything-to-do-with-each-other stage. "Incompatibility" also suggests a previous state of nearness which because of wide differences in temperaments or of culture traits (including traditions and customs) has turned into permanent farness.[4] The rise of distance in this case usually comes through an intimacy entered into hurriedly and illadvisedly.

A "competitor" is one who is striving for the same goals, prizes, or rewards as one's self and who in the striving may win out and thereby lower one's status and hence arouse bitterness and a resulting farness. "Jealousy" implies that the competitor has already secured the prize that one has greatly desired. The resultant farness is deeply emotional.

2 For a reliable discussion of the national stranger, see B. Schrieke, *Alien Americans* (New York: The Viking Press, 1936).

3 For an excellent documented study of how several thousand Japanese Americans became alienated and gave up their citizenship during the evacuation and relocation of them behind barbed wire fences see Dorothy Swain Thomas and Richard Nishimoto, *The Spoilage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946).

4 See Ernest Mowrer, *Domestic Discord* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

"Loathing" is a social distance term which expresses reactions against conduct that takes place on a low physical level. "Abhorrence" and "abomination" are aroused by those persons whose behavior offends one's moral feelings. "Hatred" implies a social farness that is based on deep-seated sentiments and that can be changed only with great difficulty. The person who is hated occupies a position of greater farness than the stranger, for the latter occupies a position of farness merely because he is unknown.[5] In these and similar situations the intensity of the negative reactions is a rough measure of the social farness engendered.

"Prejudice" is an expression of social farness that arises from competition for economic goods and for social status.[6] "Antipathy" is another expression of farness, but it springs from unfavorable sense impressions— from sight, sound, smell, touch, and so on. A great deal of so-called racial prejudice is really antipathy. "Antagonism" is a general farness term referring to either prejudice or antipathy.

A "recluse" is one who voluntarily withdraws, for one or more of a variety of reasons, from a social group.[7] The "diffident" person is one who seemingly is forced against certain of his own reactions to withdraw. He has urges to participate and urges to withdraw, but the latter are stronger. The "reserved" person is one who exhibits defenses against participation in a group. Because of his reserves he may be misunderstood and kept at a distance.

The "offish" person is he who feels that he has been slighted and hence temporarily withdraws. The "clannish" person is one who finds so much satisfaction in his clan or club that he carelessly or purposely ignores others.[8] The "cliquish" person is one who is so clannish that he does not care for the company of those outside his own clique. The "uppish" person considers himself superior and does not care if others know that he considers them inferior. The "snobbish" person creates farness by deliberately setting himself above others.

A "piker" is one who has voluntarily failed to meet a group responsibility and thus sets himself off from his group and at the same time brings disgrace to the group. The term suggests that the group has attached an onus to the piker's failure. In the same classification and with

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[5] Sigmund Livingston, *Must Men Hate?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

[6] For concrete illustrations, see Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944).

[7] See Nels Anderson, *The Hobo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923).

[8] See H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923).

the same farness implications are such terms as "shyster," "quack," "heretic," which are applied by the legal, medical, and ministerial professions, respectively, to derelict members.

"Blackballed" means that official action has been taken by a group to keep a would-be member from being accepted. "Persecuted" carries the idea not only that a person has been put at a distance but that he is subjected to continued attack in order to keep him at a distance until he ceases his offending behavior. "Repudiated" refers to depriving a person of his status, to taking his position from him, to shoving him down once and for all.

"Segregated" means that one group has set another group apart from itself.[9] The "ghetto" originally was a place apart.[10] Since the aim is to protect the status of the first group, this group keeps the other "in its place," which is a lower place and which is a controlled place. "Discrimination" may lead to "segregation."

An "autocratic" person holds "to high status by high-handed methods." He creates farness in a vertical plane by ordering others without consulting them. "Aristocratic" is used in two senses. In one it denotes a person superior to others by heredity and achievement, and represents a natural farness that may often be involved in the leader-follower relationship. In the other, it may be applied to a person who "puts on airs" and acts "haughtily." He is unpopular because he acts in a superior way.

"Courtesy" suggests a formal attempt to bridge some kind of farness. "Civility" brings to mind a tolerated farness. "Respect" connotes behavior that intellectually recognizes the superior worth of another. "Admiration" implies approval in feeling terms of the behavior of another. These concepts involve attempts for one reason or another to budge social farness.

"Friendship" conveys a relationship of nearness, while "pal" and "chum" and "intimate" refer to special nearness.[11] "Amiable" carries the thought of wishing to be socially near. "Congenial" signifies permanent attitudes of nearness. "Rapport" is a high state of nearness based on feelings and indicating that two or more personalities are "in tune."

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[9] *The Patterns of Negro Segregation,* by Charles S. Johnson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), is replete with examples of segregation as found chiefly in the Southern states.

[10] An excellent case study of the ghetto is represented by *The Ghetto,* by Louis Wirth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

[11] See Ruth Bogardus and Phyllis Otto, "Social Psychology of Chums," *Sociology and Social Research,* 20:260-70.

"Democratic" involves the idea of equality and the desire to be fair and just, and as a result creates nearness. "Cooperation" is that degree of sympathetic understanding whereby persons are able to "work together" to the good of all.[12]

The foregoing examples and interpretations of a popular distance vocabulary will bring to the mind of the reader many other significant terms. They will also make plain the continual role that social distance in both its nearness and farness aspects plays in the everyday life of everyone.

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[12] See Margaret Mead, editor, *Cooperation and Competition in Primitive Societies* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937); also E. S. Bogardus, *The Development of Social Thought* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947), Ch. 25.

# PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

*The Pacific Sociological Society*

The annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society will be held at Santa Barbara, California, on April 29 and 30 and May 1, 1948. The headquarters of the meeting will be at the Carrillo Hotel. Dr. Gwynne Nettler of Santa Barbara College is in charge of local arrangements. Inquiries concerning membership should be addressed to Dr. Leonard Bloom, University of California at Los Angeles.

*University of Arizona*

Dr. Donald S. Klaiss, associate professor of sociology, has been given charge of a new course on "Education for Marriage." He was formerly associated with Dr. Ernest R. Groves at the University of North Carolina. Mr. Charles N. Lebeaux, assistant professor of social work, has been added to the staff to develop a limited program of training for social work majors. Several courses in cultural anthropology are being given jointly in the departments of sociology and anthropology by Dr. Howard H. Spicer, associate professor of anthropology.

*Linfield College*

Dr. William C. Smith, professor of sociology, is the author of a chapter titled "Remarriage and the Stepchild," which is to appear in a forthcoming book, *Successful Marriage,* under the editorship of Professor Ernest W. Burgess and Dr. Morris Fishbein. Doubleday and Company is the publisher. In addition, he has a chapter on "Immigration and Refugees" in *Twentieth Century America,* a book under the editorship of Professor Joseph S. Roucek. Philosophical Library, Inc., of New York City will be the publisher. The department of sociology is carrying on a community study in Portland in cooperation with one of the churches.

*University of Southern California*

Members of Alpha Kappa Delta had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Faye-Cooper Cole speak on "The Anthropological Methods of Studying Culture" at the initiation meeting of November 14. Dr. Cole is the retired chairman of the University of Chicago's department of anthropology and is serving as visiting professor of anthropology at the University of Southern California.

The many friends of Dr. Emory S. Bogardus thought they were seeing double on the evening of October 10 when his portrait was unveiled by

the painter Mr. John Hubbard Rich of Hollywood. Members of the Alpha Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta decided a few months ago that the University should have a permanent likeness of one of its greatest deans, professors, and editors; hence, a fund was subscribed to commission the painting. The splendid portrait is to be hung in the President's Conference Room.

*Whittier College*

Dr. Charles B. Spaulding is chairman of the department of sociology and professor of sociology and economics. Gerald R. Patton, assistant professor of sociology, teaches courses in the field of applied group work. He is completing a graduate degree at the University of Southern California.

# SOCIAL THEORY

BACK HOME. By Bill Mauldin. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1947, pp. 315.

Mauldin's astute understanding of American history and contemporary pressure groups is ever present in the 200 selected cartoons and accompanying descriptive analyses of the postwar period. In general, readers of *Up Front* will find Mauldin's second book a more severe criticism of the militaristic way, the professional veterans organization, and the intolerance of some Americans toward cultural differences. With his trusty paint brush he depicts the sham and foibles of the following: army brass, Air Force glamour, veterans housing, Hollywood at the front, oldsters as leaders of the American Legion, Jim Crow, the Ku Klux Klan, toleration of Franco in Spain, and the racketeering in American labor organizations.

He takes the position that the combat veteran, more than the soldier who did not see the carnage of war, desires to be a civilian. Hence, his famous characters of Infantry fame, Willie and Joe, are not seen in parades. Mauldin is most suspicious of the abilities of professional militarists to maintain the peace, as caretakers of the atomic bomb, and as great national leaders. One of the unique features of this highly critical book is the author's self-criticism. Mauldin is as critical of his own work as of the institutions supporting war. His humor has a liberal touch of seasoned irony which is manifest in the cartoon depicting a group of old gentlemen discussing international relations; the caption reads, "I say it's war, Throckmorton, and I say let's fight." E.C.McD.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE MELTING POT. By T. D. Stewart. From
  Smithsonian Report for 1946 (315-44), Washington, D.C.: Government
  Printing Office, 1947, pp. 30.

This document includes an interesting account of "the peopling of the
United States." It gives an excellent summary of the role of the "Old
Americans," who according to Hrdlicka, the inventor of the term, include
those Americans whose ancestors on each side of the family were born in
the United States for at least two generations, or at the time of Hrdlicka,
before 1830. The pamphlet gives considerable attention to "immigrant
Americans." The physical types of Americans that are developing are
emphasized, but no commonly accepted description can be offered as yet.

Many references are made to the studies of American "racial types" by
Hooten, who concluded that it is remarkable "that these types should show
individually certain consistencies of a sociological nature, certain occupa-
tional and educational resemblances, whether they are drawn from the
cream of the population, from the middle of the draught, or from its very
dregs.' If the anthropologist cannot yet describe the evolving American
type, the sociologist may recognize certain similarities of behavior in all
"racial types" and in all economic classes.

CRIME: CAUSES AND CONDITIONS. By Hans von Hentig. New York:
  McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947, pp. xiv+379.

This is the first of three volumes planned by the author to deal respec-
tively with the sociology, biology, and therapy of crime. The present
volume limits its data to the sociology of crime as a point of departure
for the study of delinquency. The book contains four principal divisions.
Part I defines the problem of crime and its essential sociological terms.
Part II discusses the physiological variables as causes of crime—sex, age,
race—and considers the doctrine of physical determinism. Part III deals
with social forces among the causes of crime, i.e., economic conditions,
social units, and crime. Part IV discusses conditions of crime in the more
general sense, featuring the disorganized community, mass crises, and
crime as influenced by war and postwar conditions.

The author has organized into a form that is quite original the findings
of a highly specialized and at the same time broad knowledge of the
literature on criminology. It should be welcomed as a text for courses
stressing the sociological study of crime rather than penology. The au-
thor's volumes on the biology and therapy of crime, together with this
first book, will make a significant contribution to this field of sociology.

J.E.N.

**PERSONNEL RESEARCH AND TEST DEVELOPMENT IN THE BUREAU OF NAVAL PERSONNEL.** By Dewey B. Struit, Editor. Princeton: Princeton University, 1947, pp. 513.

This account of the experiences of the research organization of the Bureau of Naval Personnel and two other organizations presents studies of a wide variety of problems associated with selecting, classifying, and training naval personnel. The five parts of the book are devoted to a history of personnel research and test development in the Bureau of Naval Personnel; a description of the construction of selection and classification instruments; the prediction of success in Navy training programs; the development and use of achievement tests in Navy training programs; and a follow-up study and plans for future research.

The main defects of the book for the general academic reader, to which it is directed, are the use of technical naval terms, the detailed discussion of a wide variety of problems, and the repetition and lack of a unified treatment. The latter is probably due to the fact that twenty-eight persons wrote parts of the book.

One feature which the research student will value is the careful method used in the studies. Another is an excellent chapter on "Measures of Personal Adjustment." This chapter presents illustrations of types of questions used, the criteria of adjustment and maladjustment, the pitfalls which lead to unjustifiable conclusions, findings, and finally the following suggestions: "Major progress will undoubtedly be made when long-term studies are undertaken which will proceed as follows: First backward, from the observation of military successes and failures to the specific etiology or characteristics which differentiate such groups; then forward, from the measurement of such differences to the specific validation of the measurements in terms of actual military experiences." The application of this type of research in sociology is only occasionally undertaken. H.J.L.

**READINGS IN GENERAL SOCIOLOGY.** Robert W. O'Brien, Editor. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1947, pp. 513.

This source book for introductory sociology classes represents the somewhat experimental combined efforts of ten persons teaching introductory sociology to gather the source material they feel students need but are unable to locate easily. It contains a large number of articles from the professional journals interspersed with excerpts and condensations of book chapters. Its eight sections deal with the scientific method, sociometry, the socialization of the individual, social differentiation, demography and human ecology, mass communication and public behavior, social structure, and social change. This organization seems at once the strength and the

weakness of this compilation of collateral readings. Its organization fits that of no present introductory text with which this reviewer is familiar. It will not, therefore, be an "easy" book to use. It does have the merit of bringing together much material which may well be used to supplement and fill the gaps in the material offered by the average text. The illustrations lean toward the sociometric and quantificative approach, and many of them appear too difficult for a beginning student to grasp without considerable assistance from the instructor. In fact, such is the difficulty of some sections that they might well be used as special assignments for the superior members of the class and not required of the poorer students. With the trend toward smaller, less descriptive introductory texts, the appearance of a new collection of collateral readings is most timely.

JOHN H. BURMA
*Grinnell College*

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY. THE PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC SOCI-
OLOGY. By Howard W. Odum. New York: The Macmillan Company,
1947, pp. 749.

This is a challenging introductory text in sociology which is certain to arouse new interest in the discipline. Here its scope and purpose can be indicated only in general terms. Society is viewed from several aspects: nature, culture, civilization, people, and the problems of society. The author discusses natural resources, ecology, regionalism, culture, race, folk, folkways, mores, technicways, institutions, the rise and development of state, city, industry, the development of personality, etc. There is an interesting array of problems, e.g., the dilemmas of technological civilization, social process, social organization and control, democracy, economic adjustment and security, social classes, regionalism, and planning. A shorter section discusses social research and social theory essential for introductory sociology.

This book is up to date in every particular—in its data, bibliography, and especially in its teaching methodology. More than 200 maps, charts, and photographs illustrate the text. The study aids offered in the "library and workshop" following each chapter should prove to be invaluable for both teacher and student. A tremendous amount of labor has gone into this part of the book, besides the superior exposition in the text itself.

The reader will feel that sociology is a part of his daily life, as the book refers constantly to current events and social changes with which he is apt to have some familiarity. The student's own observation and experience serve to enliven a text which is already more lucid and dynamic than most books in the field. The student should find it interesting and gratifying to re-examine, as a budding sociologist, the meanings of culture and citizenship.                                                    J.E.N.

**THE FAMILY IN AMERICAN CULTURE. By Andrew G. Truxal and Francis E. Merrill. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. xxx+780.**

As the title of the book indicates, the family is regarded as an integral part of the cultural setting and background. Accordingly, the approach is by way of the reciprocal relation of the family and society. The first section sets the stage by giving the historical background of the family, especially as family patterns were influenced by religion, capitalism, frontier conditions, romantic love, law, democratic ideals, and science. The family is next analyzed as an institution, including its numerical composition, cultural and biological composition, and the changing economic and social functions. This is followed by an analysis of the personal relationships in the family, starting with childhood and tracing the intimacy of relations in courtship and marital choice, and marital interaction, and concluding with a consideration of the achievement of parenthood. Only one section is devoted to the important problem of change in relation to the family, especially as social changes have affected personal and social conflicts, desertion, separation, death, divorce, family reorganization, and the future of the American family. While these problems deserve fuller treatment, the authors have succeeded in presenting the "cultural point of view" as a living reality.                                                    M.H.N.

**INDIA: A CONFLICT OF CULTURES. By Kewal Motwani. Nagpur, India: Nagpur University, 1947, pp. xvii+99.**

In this little volume of lectures Dr. Kewal Motwani presents a survey of present-day Indian society and finds a serious state of disintegration in all phases of life: social, moral, economic, political. Basically, Dr. Motwani believes, this disorganization is due to a conflict between the age-old static Indian society and the new dynamic, materialistic West. In her long past India has assimilated many alien cultures and molded them into her own, but in the present conflict India may go down to defeat, losing the best of her own heritage and gaining only the worst of Western culture.

Dr. Motwani writes a trenchant indictment of the West; in some passages he is critically as bitter as Philip Wylie. When he looks longingly, and a little blindly, at the great Indian epochs of the past, he falls into the error of many Indian nationalists who seek a sort of spiritual isolation for their country. But it is too late for retroaction. As Jawaharlal Nehru has pointed out, India is irrevocably linked to the world and her problems are part of larger world problems. A permanent solution of India's problems will come only as part of the solution of the world crisis.

D. W. HAMILTON

SOCIAL CONTROL.  By Joseph Roucek and Associates.   New York: D. Van
     Nostrand Company, Inc., 1947, pp. viii+584.

This book is a composite work to which twenty-seven writers (includ-
ing Dr. Roucek) have each contributed a chapter (two have written two
chapters each and one, three chapters). Five chapters are given to foun-
dations of social control, six chapters discuss institutions as elements of
social control, eleven chapters treat of the means and techniques of social
control, five chapters deal with public opinion as a means of social control,
and three chapters are devoted to contemporary problems of social con-
trol. This section is least complete, for it includes only three problems,
namely, totalitarianism, charismatic leadership, and the atom bomb. The
last chapter, on social control and the atom bomb, is written by Floyd A.
Cave, who handles his subject well, considering the difficulties involved.
In addition to writing three chapters, Professor Paul Walter, Jr., seems
to have played a considerable part in getting the materials of this volume
together.

Social control is defined in the opening chapter (by H. C. Brearley) as
"a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which
individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages
and life-values of groups." This definition may be viewed as satisfactory,
but it is not followed up well; there is no extended analysis of these
planned and unplanned processes, and the book is not built around these
processes. Although many of the chapters contain fairly well known
viewpoints, as is to be expected of a book designed like this one to be used
as a text, each one has a freshness of approach and of attack that gives it a
distinctness well worth while. The total result is a handy and useful
reference work.                                                    E.S.B.


SOVIET PHILOSOPHY.   A Study of Theory and Practice. By John Somer-
     ville. New York: Philosophical Library, 1946, pp. xvi+269.

The author shows to what extent Soviet philosophy is based on the
work of Marx and Engels, though some characteristics have emerged in-
dependently due to actual Soviet practice. The importance of methods
of controlling the forces of production is pointed out early in the book
because all culture and social organization are influenced thereby. The
Soviets claim, for instance, that class antagonisms have been eradicated
in the Soviet Union because the people have a new relationship to the
forces of production. As an aspect of theory which is applicable in general,
a superstructure of arts, sciences, laws, government, morality, philosophy,
education, religion, and other cultural phenomena presumably rests upon

the productive forces and the economic structure, which together form the economic base of society. Details concerning this cultural interdependence as worked out in the U.S.S.R. are discussed in several chapters on political life, Soviet ethics, and the arts. The values in either sphere are supposed to express the human aims of socialism and communism, according to Soviet philosophy.

The author explains how the Soviet philosophy claims to have a "world view" and the meaning of its scientific outlook. A lengthy survey of the theory of dialectic materialism and the dialectic method of thinking is featured in Part II. It is shown further what philosophic controversies have risen in the history of Soviet philosophy and how its values have been inculcated in the people of the country. This book attempts to reveal, in terms anyone can understand, how the Soviet Russian thinks and what he thinks about, and thus to solve in part the Russian enigma.      J.E.N.

READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Theodore Newcomb, Eugene
    L. Hartley, and Others, Editors. New York: Henry Holt and Company,
    1947, pp. xiv+672.

The Committee for the Teaching of Social Psychology of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues under the cochairmanship of Theodore Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley offers this book of selected writings as a supplement for the continuity and systematization of materials to be found in the regular textbooks on the subject. Sixteen topics have been chosen, including: uniformities and variations under differing social influences; socialization of the child; suggestion, imitation, and sympathy; social frustration; role and status; and mass communications and propaganda. Among the writers included are Margaret Mead, L. B. Murphy, Kimball Young, E. S. Bogardus, George H. Mead, and Kurt Lewin. The editors have seen the necessity of placing a wide range of materials under each heading, thus insuring a nice choice of articles for the particular instructor. In many instances they have obtained "objectively conducted, empirical studies."

The editors frankly admit the inadequacies of the book and invite criticisms for improving promised future volumes. They have purposely omitted the topic of personality. This was a mistake, even though some of the readings do deal with that topic. The subject of personality is fundamental to any proper understanding of social psychology and should have taken precedence over such a topic as, say, war and peace. No effort has been made to define the field. A definition might have made less glaring the lack of continuity between the offerings. Some of the selections are not clear, and their placement in the volume does nothing to

improve their value. An example is the Coffin article on a mathematics test for disclosing information about suggestibility. Why not have taken suggestibility in more vital life situations? Chief among the faults of the volume has been a general tendency to select short studies of isolated phenomena, which, however scientific they may appear because of the use of statistical tables, fail to give real insight to students of the significance of certain social situations. The book as it stands is, nevertheless, a step in the right direction, and future volumes may include more that is really meaningful for the student of social psychology who, more than anything else, wants useful knowledge about himself and others in the daily social situations that may confront him.                M.J.V.

**THE COOPERATIVE CHALLENGE. By Bertram B. Fowler. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1947, pp. 265.**

The title of this book may state one of the possible answers to the riddle of the period. With some national governments drifting hopelessly in the direction of a dictatorship of the right or left wing, it is refreshing to learn that the cooperatives provide a democratic way of solving social problems.

Mr. Fowler presents a careful analysis of the Rochdale principles and their application to the economics of a consumer cooperative. He points out the lack of a thorough educational program in Great Britain. It appears that too many consumers buy at the cooperative because it is cheaper and thus fail to understand that the cooperative represents a democratic way of living. In the Scandinavian countries cooperatives have ruled out the abuses of trusts by effective competition, not by legal action. In Germany there was only a feeble understanding of the democratic basis of cooperatives; hence, Hitler and his militarists were able to dominate the whole economy without much opposition. In the United States the picture is brighter. Cooperatives are being organized at the grass roots of our economy. Farmers are not only organizing efficient consumer cooperatives, but a very important adult educational program. For instance, in Ohio thousands of cooperative farm families are enrolled in "advisory councils." An advisory council is composed of a dozen farmers who meet once a month in a neighbor's home to discuss some phase of the cooperative movement as it has special reference to them.

It is indicated that cooperatives must not be defined as a form of communism, inasmuch as (1) they operate within the capitalistic system, (2) they do not want the state to control the economic life of the individual as consumer or producer. In fact, it is pointed out that if

cooperatives can do just 10 per cent of the total volume of business in any given field they will influence the price structure in that field. If the cooperatives become a balance wheel within the free enterprise system and tend to hold prices down and push quality up, the communists are almost certain to become the most critical opponents of cooperatives. Cooperatives are on the march in rural America, in developing petroleum industries, in health groups, in labor unions, and in practical efforts to aid Europe through CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe). Sociologists might assist this democratic movement by recognizing it as an important challenge to arbitrary economics or political systems.

E.C.McD.

**THE NURNBERG CASE. By Robert H. Jackson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp. xxii+269.**

This book is highly informative about the world's first international criminal trial. Several of the reports and documents are legal and literary masterpieces. Of this nature are Jackson's preliminary report to President Truman of June 7, 1945, his opening statement for the United States at the Palace of Justice, Nürnberg, on November 21, 1945, and his closing address on July 26, 1946. Those who find it easy to forget the horrors of World War II and to become the victims of contemporary jingoism and threats of another world war may refresh their memories by reading these papers, which form a meager part of the records of the Nürnberg Case. For the political and industrial "leaders" of various nations they should also have a sobering effect.

The book includes the agreement signed by the United States, France, Great Britain, and the USSR to establish the tribunal; the law under which Nazi organizations are accused of being criminal; and selections from the cross-examination of Goering, Schacht, and others. Such documents reveal particularly the ugliness and irrationalism of nazism and its leaders.

The war trials are a reality and serve as the beginning of a new field of international law in which war criminals can no longer escape personal responsibility and punishment. Though states or nations cannot be rewarded or punished as such in traditional international law, individual persons can and should be dealt with directly under law. This principle has now become a reality not only in the Nürnberg trial but also in other trials of war criminals, as in Japan and the Philippines. This book merits wide reading in many lands.

J.E.N.

**SOCIAL RELATIONS AND STRUCTURES. By E. T. Hiller. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xii+692.**

Sociology is defined in this text as a study of human relations. These human relations are analyzed in terms of personal experiences and a "collective approach." While personal experiences give some insight into established customs and institutions, the collective approach deals with the nature of rules, usages, and institutions.

The structure of society is described in terms of statuses, such as occupations, offices, classes, and age and sex distinctions. In certain respects Professor Hiller's conception of the structure of society may be challenged, but the illustrations and discussions revealing the nature of status will prove valuable to the reader. Some of the statements concerning the nature of status will seem too descriptive for the quantitative-minded sociologist. This observation, however, merely points to the need for more studies on the nature of social status.

Since this volume is on principles of sociology, there is little discussion of personal and social problems. The style, point of view, and mature content suggest that the text was written for upper division students. The work merits careful examination by instructors of introductory sociology.                                                                E.C.MCD.

**SOVIET EDUCATION. ITS PSYCHOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY. By Maurice J. Shore. New York: Philosophical Library, 1947, pp. xxvi+346.**

The Marxian theory of education is examined thoroughly by the author, and in order to make it stand out more clearly, capitalist and communist educational theory and practice are compared. It is then shown how revisionism, urged by Bernstein, Kautsky, and others, also applied essentially to education. Lenin, while developing an educational program for Russia or criticizing the systems of Western countries, added to, without destroying, the Marxian doctrine on education. The contributions of Marx and Lenin have been conserved in Soviet education. The underlying principle is that education should be intellectual, physical, and technical, with considerable emphasis on technical and vocational training.

The author strongly favors the creation of a Department of Education for the United States, so that national control and coordination of education would be possible. The American and Russian educational programs could then be cooperative, as in the UNESCO. The book is richly annotated, and its bibliography should prove an excellent help in further research. It suffers a little from carelessness in proofreading, but this may be overlooked in view of the author's contribution to a neglected field of education.                                                        J.E.N.

**THE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN FAMILY. By Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947, pp. xxv+838.**

This book is the third in a series. The senior author's *Social Problems of the Family* (1927) and *The American Family* (1934) were pioneer texts. This one uses the pattern of organization of the second book, following a logical sequence of topics. The first section is devoted to the development of the family, the psychological aspects of the American family experience, special problems of the American family, and special programs of conservation. New material has been added throughout, excerpts of cases or illustrative material have been added, and the emphasis has been changed in places. Except for a few chapters, notably those dealing with marriage and divorce, the volume contains practically no statistical material, and the statistics given are not very recent. On the whole it is a usable text, as were the earlier ones.                           M.H.N.

**THE GREAT DILEMMA OF WORLD ORGANIZATION. By Fremont Rider. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946, pp. 85.**

The "dilemma" which the author envisions is this: "If we are to have a united world order of free men and women everywhere, what measuring-stick for voting power in it other than population can we take?" If voting in a world government is done by individuals, or if representation is arranged according to so many thousands of individuals, then the United States, for example, would be hopelessly outvoted and would refuse to join.

After discussing Eli Culbertson's proposed eleven regional federations and the weaknesses involved in the plan, and after considering the divisive tendencies of Clarence K. Streit's *Union Now* of leading democracies, Mr. Rider proposes a voting plan based on what he calls "the relative sum total of the educational accomplishment of all of the citizens of each country." By educational accomplishments the author means the total number of years of schooling of all the adults in a nation. Any person with no schooling but who is literate is allowed the equivalent of four years of schooling. The assumption is that education in schools, no matter how perverted, does have a trend "toward tolerance, toward peace, toward health, toward happiness, in both the individual and the community." This assumption may be seriously questioned. How about education in a Nazi state with all its warlike and racist conditioning of children?

The "educational age" of a country and hence its possible representation in a world assembly would give the United States 88 representatives, Russia 59, British Empire 49, Germany 44, French Empire 22, China 20,

Japan 18, and so on. Every nation would have at least one representative in an assembly of 400 members. Each country would have the same number of "world electoral districts" as representatives to which it is entitled, and each district would elect its own representative to the World Assembly. In other words, the elections would not take place by nations; neither would the representatives be appointed by nations. Every person in the world would have an opportunity to vote directly for the representative from his district.

The powers of the world-state are to be centered first on preventing war and little else. In this particular it would have supreme authority. The new world-state would have its own military power including atomic power, and the nations, as such, no military power. Later the world-state could take on additional responsibilities.

The author is modest in suggesting his plan as one to be discussed, improved upon, and adopted after due consideration. Critics will raise practical objections, yet the plan may contain valuable ideas for preventing world destruction by the use of nuclear power. National publics will need either to be scared into some such plan by the letting loose of atomic bombs by one nation or another or else to adopt some such procedure on the basis of a thoroughgoing but rapid education of people regarding the nature and functioning of a world-state.                    E.S.B.

THE WEB OF GOVERNMENT. By Robert M. MacIver. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. x+498.

Political philosophy and sociology are happily blended as the author surveys the nature, evolution, kinds, and spheres of government. Beginning with the rudiments of government evident in the family as the minimum society, he traces the transition to state government. The discussion of law and government, and especially of power, property, and status as a close-knit trinity presiding over government, is original and intensely interesting. The method of classifying and describing forms of government according to his conspectus is unique and helps one define governments in their complex transitory stages.

Professor MacIver's survey of democracy and dictatorship is particularly able and satisfying. Both concepts are brought out in sharper relief than most writers have achieved and in terms that are applicable to contemporary political problems. The causes of political change are examined next, and various controversial subjects are fearlessly analyzed and evaluated, among them economic and political planning and control, the state as warmaker, sovereignty, and problems of world organization.

The book is strong in its faith in democracy, but the author shows that an intelligent philosophy of government is essential if democracy is to survive. Professor MacIver is profoundly aware of the revolutionary struggle now going on between governments, and he examines the situation with historical, philosophical, and sociological perspectives that few contemporary writers possess. This book has a message of importance for the present and also should rate as good literature in its field for many years to come.                                     J.E.N.

**FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM. By John Hope Franklin. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, pp. xv+621.**

Professor Franklin of Howard University has written a splendid history of the American Negro. He has presented the Negro as a vital part of the institutional growth of this country. Four introductory chapters describe the early backgrounds of the Negro in Africa and the Caribbean. Then the Negro is observed as an important cultural and economic value in colonial America. As might be expected, the role of individual heroes among members of the Negro race has been kept down to a minimum; the "average" Negro is depicted as a participant in the Revolution, the Civil War, the two World Wars, and interim depressions.

Sociologists will be interested in his conviction that three centuries of American history have created a distinctly separate Negro world within the American community. Part of the Negro's world is serviced by separate churches, schools, professional organizations, transportation facilities, newspapers, and fraternal societies. Professor Franklin, as a social scientist, is to be commended for writing this book, which will prove helpful to all persons concerned with race relations in the United States.

E.C.MCD.

**AMERICAN COMMUNISM. By James Oneal and G. A. Werner. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947, pp. 416.**

The first edition of this work, written by Oneal and published in 1927, has been revised and expanded with the cooperation of Dr. Werner. The result is a scholarly and timely analysis of the origins, development, and programs of the Communist party in America. Most of the material in the first edition survives in this new volume, though edited for present use, and several new chapters and appendices have brought the work up to date. The authors show that the Communist aim to undermine American political and social life has remained constant regardless of the variable record of the Communist movement in this country. The Communist

movement could not be fully appraised without considering the social and labor history of the United States, and the authors have included what is essential to balance the story.                              J.E.N.

**DESCRIPTIVE AND SAMPLING STATISTICS.** By John G. Peatman.  New York:  Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. 577.

This is an attempt to cover statistical techniques from the  most simple item to factor analysis. It is designed as a one-year text for any social science willing to adopt it—"psychology and the closely related fields of education, cultural anthropology, and sociology"—and either undergraduate or graduate students.                              H.J.L.

# RACES AND CULTURE

**NEGRO YEAR BOOK.**  A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life, 1941-1946.  Jessie P. Guzman, Editor.  Tuskegee:  Department of Records and Research, 1947, pp. xv+708.

In this tenth number of the *Negro Year Book,* which was inaugurated in 1912 and which was ably edited in its nine preceding numbers by Dr. Monroe N. Work, the standards of the past have been maintained, and important new features have been added. This reference volume reports noteworthy achievements of Negroes, describes and explains conditions under which Negroes live and work, and presents signed contributions on various pertinent topics by twenty-five specialists. The last-mentioned point is a new feature of the *Year Book* and is meritorious because of the increased breadth of viewpoint that it gives.

The Negro in the sciences, in education, in religious work, in agriculture, in business, in politics, in art, music, theater, and literature, and in journalism is carefully surveyed. Data concerning the Negro as related to health, housing, crime, World War II, civil rights are objectively presented. A useful directory of national organizations of Negroes is included. The race problem, the Ku Klux Klan, race relations, and race riots in the United States are the themes of important chapters.

Twelve chapters are devoted to the Negro in Africa: in Ethiopia, in Liberia, under British, French, Portuguese, and Belgian rule.  Three chapters relate to the Negro in Europe and two chapters to the Negro in Latin America. An "annotated" list of books by or concerning Negroes in the United States, Africa, and Latin America, 1938-1946, affords the reader an exhibit of nearly 600 titles. A very useful index is included. It

is difficult to think of any important aspect of Negro life in the world that has been omitted from this reference work. The work is done in a scholarly way throughout and an objective viewpoint is consistently maintained. No one but an editor of a similar reference work can realize the amount of painstaking work that has gone into the making of a volume of this kind. The printing shows splendid taste and good judgment. No two editors will necessarily agree as to the topics to be included in such a work as this or as to the relative amount of space to be given each topic. The plan of organization can doubtless be improved upon in later editions. But these and other considerations will not affect the widespread use and recognition that this book will enjoy.                                      E.S.B.

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.  By Stuart Carter Dodd. Beirut, Lebanon:  American Press (3rd edition, 1947), pp. 649.  Accompanied by a Teaching Manual (3rd edition, 1947), pp. 254.

This book is the seventeenth in the Social Science Series published by The Faculty of Arts and Sciences of American University of Beirut. Though specially designed for use as a text in citizenship for the freshman at Beirut, it includes sections which would be useful for collateral assignments in social science courses in American colleges. The book is planned for a discussion of the distribution of people in the Middle East, their interrelations and institutions—economic, political, religio-ethical, hygienic, philanthropic, aesthetic, and scientific—ecology, and social change. The writing is lucid, interesting, and represents a high order of scholarship. This review notes with special interest how a work of this kind can be arranged to handle indigenous educational problems. The teaching manual which forms a part of the book also shows this quality.

                                                                                                  J.E.N.

HAWAIIAN AMERICANS.  An Account of the Mingling of Japanese, Chinese, Polynesian, and American Cultures.  By Edwin G. Burrows.  New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 228.

In this study, by one who is now teaching anthropology at the University of Hawaii, special attention is given to the cultural approach to race relations. A great many historical facts are introduced into the analyses in order to give them special support. The first question that is tackled is: How did the Americans of European culture become dominant in the Islands where Polynesian and Hawaiian culture had been long established? In other words, how did Haole culture supplant Hawaiian culture? The historical materials are boiled down to one outstanding fact, namely, the Haoles introduced and developed superior technological processes. Although this is not the whole story, it emphasizes an outstanding factor.

A second question that is raised may be put as follows: What effects did Haole dominance have upon the attitudes of the Hawaiians, the Chinese, and the Japanese? The answer given is that through the years Haole dominance imposed certain stresses on the other peoples, to which the latter reacted in a variety of ways. The first-generation people from the Orient did not accept Haole dominance without protest. The second-generation and Hawaiian-born young people, however, responded to their conditioning in the schools and elsewhere by accepting Haole dominance without undue protest.

A third question is: In what ways did those who felt the stress of Haole dominance manifest their reactions? Three methods of reaction are given, following Alexander Leichton's analysis of a somewhat similar situation at the Poston Relocation Center in Arizona, namely, aggression, withdrawal, or cooperation.

The book is closed with suggestions for meeting situations similar to the Haole dominance in Hawaii. The chief value of the book is found in its handling of Haole dominance, particularly as it has affected adversely those who have come under its repressive influences.        E.S.B.

**BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD AMONG THE ARABS.  By Hilma Granqvist. Helsingfors:  Soderstrom & Co.  Forlagsactiebolag, 1947, pp. 289.**

The author reports firsthand information concerning prenatal customs, birth, postnatal customs, early association between mother and babe, the games and work of boys and girls, education and character training, and, finally, the importance of circumcision rites among the Arabs. Many glimpses of Arab customs, superstitions, folkways, mores, and institutions make the study realistic and personal. This monograph would have a special interest for anthropologists and sociologists. Owing to the present conflict of Arab versus Jew in Palestine, all studies revealing the traits and way of life of the Arabs should prove useful and welcome.                                          J.E.N.

**THE MATRIX OF INDIAN CULTURE.  By D. N. Majumdar.  Lucknow, India:  The Universal Publishers, Ltd., 1947, pp. vii+242.**

This small volume has brought together a valuable fund of information on India. The chapter on "Indian Anthropology through the Decades" shows the change from the early studies that were made for the practical purpose of assisting alien governmental agencies to function in the several tribal areas to a more basic interest in the cultural life of the "primitive

and backward groups." Probably the most interesting and valuable portions are the chapters on "Contacts of Civilization" and "Tribal Rehabilitation." On the basis of data drawn from many sources, the author concludes that contacts of civilization with the "primitive" groups have produced social and moral disorganization and an apathy toward life. Some of the tribes have even become extinct in the process. The adoption of a money economy, the imposition of an alien political system, and even the activities of Christian missionaries have been disorganizing influences.

Westerners might well read this book and ponder over some of the lethal effects of their contacts not only in India but in other areas as well.

W. C. SMITH
*Linfield College*

CHILDREN OF THE PEOPLE. By Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. xvi+277.

This book is a part of the Indian Education Research Project, undertaken by the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs. Its theme is the Navaho individual (studying children especially) and the formation of personality. It is a companion volume to *The Navaho,* by the same authors, which was reviewed in an earlier issue of this journal, its particular concern being the situational and cultural context of Navaho life.

The study now under review consists of two parts. The first part considers the individual and his development through several phases, that is, the first six years of life, later childhood, and adult life. This part of the book closes with a chapter entitled "The Psychology of the People," its purpose being to describe certain ways of feeling and reacting that are typically Navaho rather than broadly human. The second part deals with mental testing of Navaho children, their mental and physical fitness, their attitudes and interests. These data are grouped for children of different ages, for boys and girls, and for residents of different areas. Several typical case studies are also presented.

*Children of the People* is another superior achievement of its two authors, and credit is due their assistants who conducted the mental testing. Both books mentioned are in a sense a literary tribute to "The People," as the Navahos call themselves. J.E.N.

# SOCIAL WELFARE

**HOW TO INTERPRET SOCIAL WELFARE. By Helen Cody Baker and Mary Swain Routzahn. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947.**

*How to Interpret Social Welfare* presents a study course in public relations. It is a practical guide for social service agencies which want to publicize and interpret their programs to the public. The ideas seem to be professionally sound and could well enhance the quality and effectiveness of this particular kind of public service, whether by platform speaking, radio broadcasting, written word, or picture illustrations. The methods could well be used in fields other than social service. This book is pleasant reading and exemplifies the style of writing and illustration which it recommends for attracting and retaining interest. The examples of publicity already tried indicate the dearth of creative effort and accomplishment in social work publicity. The book does not deal with the philosophical and ethical factors in interpretation, which makes it seem that two important considerations have been left out. The lack of knowledge and understanding of the basic principles of right action in publicity is partly responsible for the poor quality of social work interpretation. A chapter devoted to ethicizing publicity would have been a welcome addition. JOHN G. MILNER

**SOUTHERN EXPOSURE. By Stetson Kennedy. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, & Company, Inc., 1946, pp. 364.**

In *Southern Exposure* Stetson Kennedy has written another book by a Southerner criticizing the South. Sometimes sacrificing scientific objectivity for interesting presentation (and increased sale), *Southern Exposure* still presents many facts and explanations which cannot easily be secured elsewhere. As a primary research technique, Kennedy joined the Klan, Sons of Dixie, Commoner Party, White Front, Order of American Patriots, et cetera. In no other book can one secure so much information on the lunatic fringe of hate-mongering organizations so unfortunately common in the South. The author believes such organizations are the result of the constellation of historical, social, economic, political, religious, and educational stimuli impinging on the present-day South. He believes these factors are slowly changing and that the worst are already seriously undermined. In unionization, family-sized farms, fair employment practices, and racial equality he sees the way out—the way to the "place in the sun" all Southerners believe rightly belongs to their beloved South.

**PROBLEMS OF CHILD DELINQUENCY. By Maud A. Merrill. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. xi+403.**

The author expresses the belief that "the behavior of delinquent children is understandable only in terms of needs of the individual child and his opportunities or lack of opportunities for satisfying those needs." This is only partially true, but the author recognizes the need also for an understanding of the delinquent's total personality and the social frames of reference. The chief value of the study is the case analysis of 300 delinquents and an equal number of controls, which are compared as to the structure and conditions of the homes, economic status and occupational classifications and ratings of the parents, the occupational experiences of 200 boys, the vocational ambitions and expectations of the children in relation to intelligence, membership in clubs and organizations, recreations, grade placement in school and attitude toward school, various levels and types of adjustments, and a number of other comparable items. Altogether, 43 tables and 28 figures are used to indicate the comparative social frames of reference, personality and problems of adjustment, intelligence, motivation, the private worlds, interests and attitudes, and factors in after-treatment adjustment of the 300 delinquents and 300 controls.   M.H.N.

**SO YOU WANT TO HELP. By RUDOLPH M. WITTENBERG. Foreword by RUSSELL L. DICKS. New York: Association Press, 1947, pp. 174.**

The subtitle, "A Mental Hygiene Primer for Group Leaders," indicates both the purpose and the tone of the book. The three parts are well organized, and illustrations through case materials and references are effective in clarifying techniques.

Part I, The Leader Looks at the Group, emphasizes relationship as the basis for working with people. Part II, The Group and the Individuals within It, discusses various problems encountered by the group leader, such as discipline and boy-and-girl relationships. The author stresses the importance of knowing the various social work agencies in the community and how to use them. He also discusses the sometimes puzzling problem of records in a group work agency, giving practical suggestions. The third part, Meeting Grounds between Leader and Group, points out some of the possibilities in settlement houses, camps, and Sunday schools. Again, case stories are effective means of illustration. Each chapter is followed by a trenchant summary and suggested readings.

The book will be found useful not only by the volunteer but also by the professional group worker, whose practice it may well challenge.

B.A.M<sup>c</sup>C.

**EUROPE'S POPULATION IN THE INTERWAR YEARS. By Dudley Kirk. League of Nations, 1946, pp. 340.**

The more one delves into this monograph, the more he appreciates the author's skill in creating a synthesis of invaluable data gleaned from scattered census and vital statistics of the twenty-seven European countries existing in the interwar period. The close relation between demographic trends and certain forces of cultural change in modern Europe is clearly revealed. While presenting the circumstances of European population during the interwar years, the author also throws light on the human and cultural influences shaping the future of Europe and its probable function in world affairs.

As a demographic study, the book contains much information concerning population distribution, population change, births and deaths, migration, etc. The author has the faculty of making the study human and social, virtually a stream of European human development. Political and ethnic conflict and regional problems are of less consequence for him than Europe as a unity. Figures, maps, and statistics are ample, though the book does not appear especially loaded with them. Data of this sort have been handled with great mastery, however, and should be welcomed by students of postwar problems. The author and sponsors are to be commended for this excellent study of population.          J.E.N.

**THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLAN: A Selected Bibliography with Interpretative Comments. Compiled by James Dahir. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947, pp. 91.**

This important document is a thorough annotation of the bibliography dealing with the neighborhood unit concept in housing and community planning as suggested in 1929 by Clarence A. Perry. Perry believed that the residential neighborhood should be planned around the following factors: a centrally located elementary school which will be within easy walking distance of all homes; scattered neighborhood parks and playgrounds to comprise 10 per cent of the whole area; local shops on the periphery of the neighborhood to meet daily needs; and a residential environment that results from harmonious architecture, careful planting, centrally located community buildings, and a special internal street system which deflects all through traffic. Several examples of the application of Perry's concept are cited and reproduced in chart form. For students of urban sociology, community organization, human ecology, and social planning the brochure is a most important source of information.

E.C.MCD.

THE ANGRY DECADE. By Leo Gurko. New York: Dodd, Mead and
    Company, 1947, pp. 306.

This volume is a critical examination of the literary and social trends in
the United States during the turbulent twelve years between the stock
market crash of 1929 and Pearl Harbor, a period which Dr. Gurko ap-
propriately labels "the angry decade." The author divides the period into
three sections—depression, New Deal, and approach to war—and in
each he analyzes the significant events, the economic crises, the important
literary achievements, and the shifting currents of social and political
thought.

The era was one of revolution—revolution in thinking, if not in action.
In literature the trend was apparent in the shift from the iconoclasm of
Mencken and Lewis in the twenties to the social protest of Farrell and
Steinbeck in the thirties. In politics and economics there were Roosevelt's
New Deal, the rise of labor, Huey Long, the "ham and egg" movements,
and the bitter fight over isolationism. Just as the period began with the
shock of depression so did it end with the shock of war.

In surveying this decade the author is selective rather than encyclopedic,
following in the stylistic path of Frederick Lewis Allen rather than
Mark Sullivan. However, Dr. Gurko is much more interested in litera-
ture per se than Allen. His evaluations of Farrell, Wolfe, Faulkner, and
Steinbeck are especially illuminating and are perhaps of more value as
literary criticism than as social history. The book is supplemented by a
chronology and a reading list.                    DELBERT W. HAMILTON

OUR RURAL COMMUNITIES: A Guidebook to Published Materials on Rural
    Problems. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago: Public Administration
    Service, 1947, pp. xiii+201.

This volume is an important desk tool for those social and public wel-
fare workers who need to know the present status of knowledge as to needs
and methods in a dozen or so fields of rural social administration: schools,
agricultural extension service, church, library, medical care, recreation,
housing, cooperatives, local government, land use, and the like. Each
chapter begins with a descriptive statement of the present developments in
a given field, with annotations and brief comments on the major studies,
followed by an organized bibliography in standard form. The approach is
that of a well-trained librarian. The treatment is elementary and will be of
value chiefly to the novice and the busy professional rather than to research
workers. There is no critical analysis of the literature and very little atten-
tion to basic research studies.                                    E.F.Y.

# SOCIAL FICTION

THE STORY OF MRS. MURPHY. By Natalie Anderson Scott. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1947, pp. 445.

The case study of an alcoholic makes for neither pleasant nor comfortable reading. But perhaps here is a story that needed to be told. Told with frank realism, some of its many scenes of sheer and wicked depravity do not create so much of shocking sensationalism as they do of horror and pity.

Jimmy Murphy, wedded to the bottle, is the youngest son in a family, many of whose members are devoutly religious. Good-looking, somewhat proud, and fond of being well dressed when sober, he attracts both men and women through his geniality. His mother adores him, never failing for an instant in her loyalty to him, excusing and defending him for every relapse. And Jimmy did want so very much to be good and generous to her and his family of brothers and sisters, and, of all the children, none gave as much to the support of the family budget. Life, however, had a kind of terror for him, and each time this fear confronted him, his only recourse lay in the saloon and the bottle.

In the course of Jimmy's tragic descent to the lower depths of despair, degradation, and death, the novelist offers a series of contrasting scenes—the home and the gutter, the priest's sanctuary and the dive, the hospital clinic and the saloon, the flowering city park and the prison. In these, Jim plays his various roles: the favorite son, the ragged sot, the good Catholic, the immoral wretch, the clinic patient, and the tramp. Each of the scenes affords the author an opportunity to introduce an array of characters well adapted to their own environments. Most successfully drawn, aside from Jimmy, are the understanding mother, his brother Edward, the priest, and Sue, the girl he loves and wrongs because he is unable to sacrifice the bottle for her.

In presenting Jimmy, Miss Scott brings to her readers a character sketch that is so vividly drawn that the memory is haunted for a long time after laying the book aside. Here is a certain type of living portrayed in an almost objective case-study manner, sympathetically understood and photographed without sentimentality but with penetrating insight. *The Story of Mrs. Murphy* may not be hailed as a great piece of literature, but its accomplished realism may awaken many readers to the problem of the alcoholic incubus within our borders.                        M.J.V.

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